CORPUS CULTUS IOVIS SABAZII
(CCIS), I

THE HANDS

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

M. J. VERMASEREN

TOME CENTIÈME

CORPUS CULTUS IOVIS SABAZII (CCIS), I

MAARTEN J. VERMASEREN

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
EDUARD WESTRA AND MARGREET B. DE BOER

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 1 FIGURE, 80 PLATES AND A MAP

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To

F. C. Wieder
T. A. Edridge (†)
Dr. W. Backhuys

The three successive managers
of E. J. Brill's Publishing House at Leiden,
who with their staffs made it possible
to publish the Series
Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales
dans l'Empire romain (EPRO).
In celebration of Brill's 300 year old tradition
of book-printing (1683-1983)
this 100th volume of EPRO is dedicated to them.

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PREFACE

As my pupil in the Department of Hellenistic Religions in the Theological Faculty of the State University of Utrecht, Mr. Eduard Westra started to collect the Sabazius hands about six years ago; at the same time Prof. Dr. Eugene N. Lane of Missouri University started the Catalogue of the epigraphical materials of the Sabazius cult. Having completed his studies at the University Mr. Westra felt that his principal task lay more in the pastoral sphere than in the archaeological and religious-historical fields. With his full agreement I therefore undertook the work of a thorough revision of volume I and provided the work with an extensive bibliography. At the same time the various Musea were so kind as to send the necessary photographs and information.

With the publication of this *CCIS* and the following *CCID* (by Dr. Elmar Schwertheim) the main corpora of the principal cults in the Roman Empire have now been completed for the greater part.

Prof. Dr. Ina Isings and Drs. J. J. V. M. Derksen (Archaeological Institute, Utrecht) were kind enough to give assistance; Mrs. Franca Derksen-Janssens (Vianen) drew the excellent geographical map. We wish to thank Miss Saskia Redeke and Mrs. Jane Hampartumian for the revision of the English text; Dr. Nubar Hampartumian (Lichfield) prepared the indices. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Tosca Westra-Roodbeen (Voorburg), Mrs. Maria E. C. Vermaseren-van Haaren and Dr. Margreet B. de Boer (Amsterdam).

Maarten J. Vermaseren

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AbhLeipzig	Abhandlungen der (Königlich) Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse.
AEMÖ	Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich.
AErt	Archaeologiai Ertesitö.
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
AZ	Archäologische Zeitung.
Babelon-Blanchet	Babelon, E. - A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1895.
BACTH	Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques.
Baumeister, *Denkmäler*	Baumeister, A. *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, München-Leipzig 1889.
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BIst	Bullettino dell'Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica.
Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*	Blinkenberg, Chr. *Archaeologische Studien*, Kopenhagen-Leipzig 1904.
BMCBronzes	Walters, H. B. *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the British Museum*, London 1899.
BRGK	Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission.
Caylus, *Recueil*	Caylus, Comte de, *Recueil d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques et Romaines* I-VII, Paris 1761-1767.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
della Corte, *Loves*	Corte, M. della *Loves and Lovers in Ancient Pompei*, Roma 1960.
Dilthey	Dilthey, K. *Drei Votivhände aus Bronze* in *AEMÖ* 2, 1878, 44-65.
DS, *DictAnt*	Daremberg, C. - E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris 1877-1919.
Eisele	Eisele, Th. *Sabazios* in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *cols* 232-264.
Elia	Elia, Olga *Vasi magici e mani pantee a Pompei* in *RendNap* (N.S.) 35, 1960, 7-9.
Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*	Elworthy, F. T. *Horns of Honour and Other Studies in the By-Ways of Archaeology*, London 1900.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain.
Gerhard-Panofka	Gerhard, E.-T. Panofka, *Neapels Antike Bildwerke* Iff, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1828ff.
Homolle	Homolle, Th. *Donarium* in DS, *DictAnt*, *cols* 363-382.
IAI	Известия на Българския Археологически Институт (Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique, Sofia).
IAK	Известия Археологической Комиссии (Izvestiya Arkheologicheskoy Komissii).
Jahn	Jahn, O. *Ueber das Aberglauben des bösen Blicks* in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101-104.
Kádár, *Ungarn*	Kádár, Z. *Die kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn* (EPRO 2), Leiden 1962.
Kircher, *Oedip. Aegypt.*	Kircher, A. *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* I-III, Roma 1652-1654.
KJb	Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte.
Lane	Lane, E. N. *Two Votive Hands in Missouri* in *Muse* 4, 1970, 43-48.
Lane	Lane, E. N. *A Syncretistic Statuette* in *Muse* 8, 1974, 34-37.
Lane	Lane, E. N. *Towards a Definition of the Iconography of Sabazius* in *Numen* 27, 1980, 9-33.

de Longpérier	Longpérier, A. de *Notice des bronzes antiques du Louvre*, Paris 1879.
de Montfaucon	Montfaucon, B. de *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* I-V, Paris 1722-1724.
Muse	Muse, Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology. University of Missouri-Columbia.
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
OZ	Osječki Zbornik. Muzej Slavonije Osijek.
Pace, *Arte e Civiltà*	Pace, B. *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia antica* I-VI, Milano-Genova-Roma-Napoli 1938-1958.
Picard	Picard, Ch. *Sabazios, dieu thraco-phrygien: expansion et aspects nouveaux de son culte* in *RA* 1961 (2), 129-176.
RA	Revue Archéologique.
RACentre	Revue Archéologique du Centre.
Reinach, *RépStat*	Reinach, S. *Répertoire de la statuaire, grecque et romaine* I-V, Paris 1897-1930.
RendNap	Rendiconti della (Reale) Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli.
Richard	Richard, L. *La main en bronze dite de Lezoux* in *RACentre* 12, 1973, 281-289.
Ristow	Ristow, G. *Zur Eschatologie auf Denkmälern Synkretistisch-Orientalischer Mysterienkulte in Köln* in *KJb* 9, 1967/1968, 107-111.
Roscher, *MythLex*	Roscher, W. H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884-1937.
SbLeipzig	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-Hist. Klasse.
Seyrig	Seyrig, H. *Quatre cultes de Thasos* in *BCH* 51, 1929, 203-214.
Sfameni-Gasparro	Sfameni-Gasparro, Giulia *I culti orientali in Sicilia* (EPRO 31), Leiden 1973.
Sotgiu	Sotgiu, Giovanna *Per la diffusione del culto di Sabazio. Testimonianze dalla Sardegna* (EPRO 86), Leiden 1980.
Thouvenot	Thouvenot, R. *Catalogue des figurines et objets de bronze du Musée archéologique de Madrid* I. *Bronzes grecs et romains*, Paris 1927.
Tran tam Tinh	Tran tam Tinh, V. *Le culte des divinités orientales à Herculanum* (EPRO 17), Leiden 1971.
Veidinger	Veidinger, Gy. *Akleti vallások emlékei Pannoniaban (Denkmäler der orientalischen Religionen in Pannonien)*, Budapest 1930.
VHAD	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku.

EXACT PLACE WHERE THE FINDS WERE MADE KNOWN

THRACIA

Augusta Traiana

1. A bronze right hand (H. 0.109, W. 0.039 in diameter at the *pulsus*), found in Gradnitsa on the territory of Augusta Traiana. Bulgaria, Gabrovo, District Museum of History, Inv. no. unknown.

A. Milchev, *Kum koulta na Sabazii v Dolna Miziya i Trakiya* in *Yearbook of Sofia University, Department of History* LXVI, 1972-1973 [1975], 48ff; A. Milchev, *O. kulte Sabaziya v nizhnii Mezii i Frakii* in *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 1977 (II), 58, fig. 1a-e; Margarita Tacheva-Hitova, *Koultut na Sabazii v trakiiskite zemi* in *Yearbook of Sofia University, Department of History* LXIX, 1975-76, 49-73; the monument will be discussed in Margarita Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia* (EPRO 95), Leiden 1983, 173f no. III, 19.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* we find a pine-cone, while the *index* and *medius* are topped by Zeus' thunderbolt, on which the legs of an eagle have been preserved. A snake coils around the *pulsus*, its body reaching the *digitus minimus* where it breaks off, while the head is preserved on the palm of the hand.

The hand is covered with symbols:

Palm: insect (bee?), whip, ram's head, loaf of bread, twig, tongs, *crater*.

Back: turtle, pair of scales, *thyrsus*, frog or toad, winged *caduceus*, lizard.

Date: third century A.D.

Philippopolis

2. A bronze right hand (H. 0.112), found in the village of Voissil on the territory of Philippopolis. Bulgaria, Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 4004.

D. Tsonchev, *Arheologicheski pametnitsi po yuzhnite sklonove na Panagyurska Sredna gora*, Sofia 1963, 58; the hand will be discussed in Margarita Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia* (EPRO 95), Leiden 1983, 172f no. III, 18.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* is a pine-cone.

Palm: twig, frog or toad.

Back: lizard, turtle, double flute (?), loaf of bread (?).

ASIA MINOR

PAMPHYLIA

Attaleia

3. Bronze hand (H. 0.11), found in Adalia (Attaleia). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. MNC 1021 (acquired in 1888).

Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 238 no. 7; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 77 no. E 16; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums* (H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* 9-11), Leipzig-Erlangen 1926, fig. 162; A. J. Festugière in *Histoire Générale des Religions* II. *Grèce-Rome*, Paris 1948, fig. on p. 377; J. Leipoldt, *Umwelt des Urchristentums* III, Berlin 1973³, fig. 67.

A badly damaged bronze right hand, of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex*, there is a pine-cone. On the tips of *index* and *medius* there are possibly two pine-cones as well.

Palm: between the *digitus minimus* and the *anularis* is an object which possibly is to be identified with a snake's head. On either side and under the same fingers is an unidentifiable object (shovel ?). A snake is lying up alongside the *pollex*. On the lower side a *dipode* and underneath it a *caverna*.

Back: two flutes (?), *caduceus*, snake and beside it a turtle (?), two rows of damaged squares.

CAPPADOCIA

Caesarea

4. A hollow bronze right hand (H. 0.087) supposed to have been brought from Cappadocia, Caesarea to Athens by a refugee, where it was seen and acquired by the late H. Seyrig. Most recently in the collection H. Seyrig, Neuchâtel.

Seyrig in *BCH* 51, 1927, 210 n. 2; *Kunstwerke der Antike. Auktion 60* (Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Basel), Basel 1982, 70 no. 144 with Pl.

The hand shows the Sabazian gesture: the *pollex*, *medius* and *index* are extended, the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. In the upraised fingers is a pine-cone. The wrist is encircled by a snake whose head is visible at the beginning of the *pollex*.

Date: probably first or second century A.D. For a similar hand from Athens, see however no. 5; compare also no. 74, allegedly from Aleppo.

GRAECIA

ATTICA

Athenae

5. Bronze hand (H. 0.044, W. 0.02), found ca. 1877 in the Asklepieion of Athens, on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Formerly in the Rayet and

Hoffmann Collections in Paris, whence it passed in 1888 to the Froehner Collection. Now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. no. unknown.

Froehner, *Collection Hoffmann, Catalogue de vente*, Paris 1888, 132 no. 488; Homolle in DS, *DictAnt* s.v. *donarium*, col. 375, fig. 2542; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 69 no. A 1; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* I. *Les inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, 136 no. 98 and Pl. 42; Lane in *Numen* 27, 1980, 13.

A right hand of which two fingers are folded into the palm, namely the *anularis* and *digitus minimus*. The *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are not completely extended; originally the hand might have held a pine-cone. There is an inscription on the inside of the *pulsus*.

Height of letters: 0.002-0.003.

’Αθηναῖ(ο)ς / ἀνάθεμα / Διὶ Ζαβαζί/ω̣.

Date: possibly first century A.D.

ITALIA

LATIUM

Roma

6. Bronze hand (maximum height 0.073), found in Rome. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Inv. no. 66040.

Caylus, *Recueil* VI, 295f, Pl. XCIII, 3-4; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 71 no. C 5.

A bronze hand up which a snake winds itself. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. Blinkenberg suggests the presence of a lizard on the bottom of the back of the hand. There is a nailhole on the *pulsus*.

Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 171f and fig. 95 mentions an "open hand of nearly natural size with no other ornament than a sort of conventional snake bracelet. It has apparently been broken off from its stand or base, or perhaps its staff." Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Inv. no. 66041 (H. 0.14).

7. Bronze hand (H. 0.089), found near Rome, in 1862 (?). Copenhagen, National Museum, Inv. no. AB.a.904.

AA 1862, 303; *BIst* 1862, 56; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 71 no. E 1 and fig. 31.

A bronze right hand up which a snake winds itself, resting its head in the palm of the hand. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex* and a thunderbolt on the tips of the *index* and *medius*. Upon the thunderbolt the two claws of the eagle are preserved.

Palm: on the *pulsus* is a crescent in relief.

Back: lizard, toad, turtle.

Roma (?)

8. Bronze hand (H. 0.053, W. 0.02, D. 0.017), found in Italy, exact provenance unknown. Used to be in the Collection of Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken-Sammlung, Inv. no. Fr. 1333.

Michelange de la Chausse (M. A. Causeus), *De vasis, bullis, armillis etc.* (*Über Vasen, Bullae, Armringe usw.*) in *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum* 12, Traject. ad Rhen. [et] Lugd. Batavorum 1699; C. Friederichs, *Berlins Antike Bildwerke* II. *Geräthe und Broncen im Althen Museum*, Düsseldorf 1871, no. 1333; Kircher, *Oedip. Aegypt.* II, 2, 451; L. Beger, *Thesaurus Brandenburgensis* III, 404; de Montfaucon II, 2, Pl. 137, 1; M. A. Causeus, *Romanum Museum*, Romae 1746, II, 6, 80, Pls 11-12; Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101 c, Pls 4, 2 a-b; DS, *DictAnt* s.v. *Fascinum*, col. 985, fig. 2886; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 75, fig. 75; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 216, figs 121-122; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 74 no. E 9; G. Heres, *Die römischen Bronzen der Sammlung Bellori* in *Bronzes hellénistiques et romaines* (Cahiers d'archéologie romande 17 = Actes du Ve Colloque international sur les bronzes), Lausanne 1979, 211 and Pl. 119, 5.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. Between the *pollex* and *anularis*, against *index* and *medius* we find a bearded god with a moustache, wearing a Phrygian cap (Sabazius). The tip of the *pollex* is missing.

The hand is covered with symbols:

Palm: *monopode* bearing offerings, bee, sacrificial knife, semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child; on her right side a bird (possibly an eagle).

Back: pair of scales, frog or toad, snake, whip, *amphora*, lizard, turtle.

Isola Farnese

9. Bronze hand (maximum height 0.13), found near Isola Farnese, in 1708. Rome, formerly Museo Kircheriano, now Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Inv. no. 66039.

F. Bonanni, *Museum Kircherianum*, Roma 1709, class. II, 71ff, Pl. XXV, 1-2; de Montfaucon II, Pl. 137, 3; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 242, figs 133-134; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 78 no. E 22; R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1932^2, 313 no. 1118.

Bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On these latter fingers there is a ram's head (?). A snake winds itself once around the *pulsus* and rests its head on the back of the hand beneath the *pollex*.

The following symbols are found on the hand:

Palm: lizard, frog or toad, *crater*, *caduceus*.

Back: pine-branch with three leaves, turtle.

CAMPANIA

Neapolis

10. Bronze hand (H. 0.056), found in the vicinity of Naples. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. no. 1064.

P. M. Paciaudi, *Lettres au Comte de Caylus*, Paris 1802, 231; Caylus, *Recueil* V, 177, Pl. LXIII, 1-2; Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101-102 g; Babelon-Blanchet, no. 1064 with fig.; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 249, figs 137-138; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 74 no. E 8.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On these latter fingers there is a pine-cone. On the tip of the *pollex* a half-moon shaped object.

On the hand we find the following symbols:

Palm: against *index* and *medius* the head of a god with a beard and a moustache (Sabazius). He is wearing a Phrygian cap. In the palm of the hand a *monopode*, bearing an indistinct object; an insect (bee ?). On the *pulsus* a semi-circular *caverna* in which a clothed woman is reclining, nursing a child.

Back: a pair of scales, frog or toad, snake, whip, *amphora*, lizard, turtle.

Date: probably first century A.D.

11. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), found in the vicinity of Naples. Lost. Great resemblance to the Blinkenberg E 8 hand, maybe the same as the preceding no. 10, but on the other hand the piece might have been made in the same workshop since there is no symbol on the *pollex* of this hand. Was once in the Collection of the Duke of Tuscany.

Kircher, *Oedip. Aegypt.* III, 529, figs 2-3; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 74 no. E 8 b.

Date: probably first century A.D.

Herculaneum

12. Bronze hand (H. 0.107), found in Resina, situated upon the ancient city of Herculaneum in January 1746. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 5505. Seems at present to be lost.

Bronzi di Ercolano II, Naples 1771, pref. III, comp. 409; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 194, fig. 103; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 69 no. A 3; Tran tam Tinh, *Herculanum*, 95f no. 70.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the *pulsus* we find the following inscription:

CIL X 1, 1407 (=2389).

Height of letters: 0.014.

N. Egnat(ius) C.L./Anavos.

Date: first century A.D.

13. Bronze hand (H. 0.182), found in Resina (Herculaneum) in February 1746. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 5506.

> *Antichità di Ercolano* V, pref. V, Pl. XXXVII; *Museo Borbonico* XVI, Pl. 9; *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art antique* I, Paris 1867, Pls 18-19; Reinach, *RépStat* II, 477, 2; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 229, fig. 125; Gerhard-Panofka I, 177; Blinkenberg, *Arch.Stud*, 75 no. E 13 and fig. 34 (Sabazius only); Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 241 and fig. 4 on *col.* 245; A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion* I, New York 1964, 391 fig. 296; Tran tam Tinh, *Herculanum*, 94f no. 69 and figs 32-33; J. Ward Perkins-Amanda Claridge, *Catalogue of the Expositon Pompeii AD 79*, Boston 1978, II, 182 no. 189.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex* and a viper on the *index*. On the tips of the *medius* and the *index* there are three thunderbolts on which are the claws of an eagle. On each side of the claws is a little snake.

In the hand there is a bearded man with a moustache (Sabazius) sitting against the *index* and the *medius*. He is wearing a Phrygian cap, a short tunic with long sleeves, and *anaxyrides*. His feet rest on a ram's head. Both arms are raised in a kind of benediction and the fingers of both hands are formed into the gesture of the *benedictio*.

The hand is covered with symbols:

Palm: *dipode* bearing a pine-cone, *amphora* with pine-cone, semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child, two little unidentifiable objects (insects ?).

Back: a turtle (on the *pollex*), pair of scales, four insects (?), snake of which the head is missing, winged *caduceus*, a tree, a lizard, a toad, two flutes, a whip, a pair of cymbals, a scarab, a loaf of bread and a rectangular object divided into two parts (ladder ?).

Date: first century A.D.

Pompeii

14. Bronze hand (H. 0.175, W. 0.085), found in a house at Pompeii (Reg. II, ins. I, 12). Pompeii, Antiquarium, Inv. no. 10485.

> della Corte, *Loves*, 90, fig. 16b; Elia in *RendNap* (N.S.) 35, 1960, 8; W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompei*, New York 1979, 135ff with fig. 215 (left). See Frontispiece and Pl. X.

A bronze right hand resting upon a rectangular bronze base with four little feet. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On these latter fingers the protome of a monstrous animal (dragon ?). Between the *index* and *medius* sits a bearded figure with a moustache (Sabazius), with his feet on a ram's head. He is wearing a Phrygian cap, a girt *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides*. Both his hands are raised in the gesture of the *benedictio latina*.

On the hand we find the following symbols:

Palm: *dipode* carrying a pine-cone, a semi-circular *caverna* in which a clothed woman is reclining, nursing a child at her left breast, *amphora.*

Back: a viper creeping up against the *index*, on the *pollex* a turtle, a winged *caduceus* above which a pine-cone, a pair of scales under which an unidentifiable object, snake winding along its length, resting its head against the *digitus minimus*, a little tree, one twig of which is visible on the palm, a lizard, frog or toad, *tibia*, *cornu*, whip, pair of cymbals, scarab, loaf of bread, ladder with two steps.

Date: first century A.D.

15. Bronze hand (H. 0.195, W. 0.092), found on the same spot as the preceding no. 14. Pompeii, Antiquarium, Inv. no. 10486.

della Corte, *Loves*, 90, fig. 16a; Elia in *RendNap* (N.S.) 35, 1960, 7, Pl. 3; Lane in *Muse* 8, 1974, 34 with fig. on p. 35; W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompei*, New York 1979, 135ff and fig. 215 (right).

A bronze right hand resting upon a circular bronze base which at its upper side is decorated with a ring. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. Upon the *pollex* is a pine-cone; upon the *digitus minimus* a cup is standing. Against the *index* and *medius* sits a bearded figure with a moustache (Sabazius), with his feet on a ram's head. He is wearing a Phrygian cap with a crescent on it, a girt *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides.* Both his hands are raised in the gesture of the *benedictio latina.*

On the hand we find the following symbols:

Palm: a little turtle, *dipode* carrying three indistinct objects, lizard, semicircular *caverna* with a clothed woman reclining, nursing a child and on her right hand side before her a large bird (eagle).

Back: frog or toad above a pair of cymbals, pair of scales, snake resting its crested head upon the *anularis*, two ivy-leaves with a circular object (ring ?) under them, a purse, a spoon above an *amphora*, a cypress-tree with a viper coiled about it, a winged *caduceus* standing on a base, *tibia*, *cornu*, *falx*, a row of five cups and five *amphorae.*

Date: first century A.D.

15 bis. The house Reg. II, ins. I, 12 (Elia in *RendNap* (N.S.) 35, 1960, 5; Arnold and Mariette de Vos, *Pompei Ercolano Stabia*, Roma 1982, 136) is situated in the South-Eastern part of the city and is a rectangular building with a court-yard surrounded by a *porticus* and provided with long *fauces* (see fig. 1). In the rear wall opposite the entrance is an *exedra* with a *podium*; on either side of this *exedra* is a little room and in the centre of the court-yard is a rectangular altar in brickwork to either side of which an iron ring has been attached.

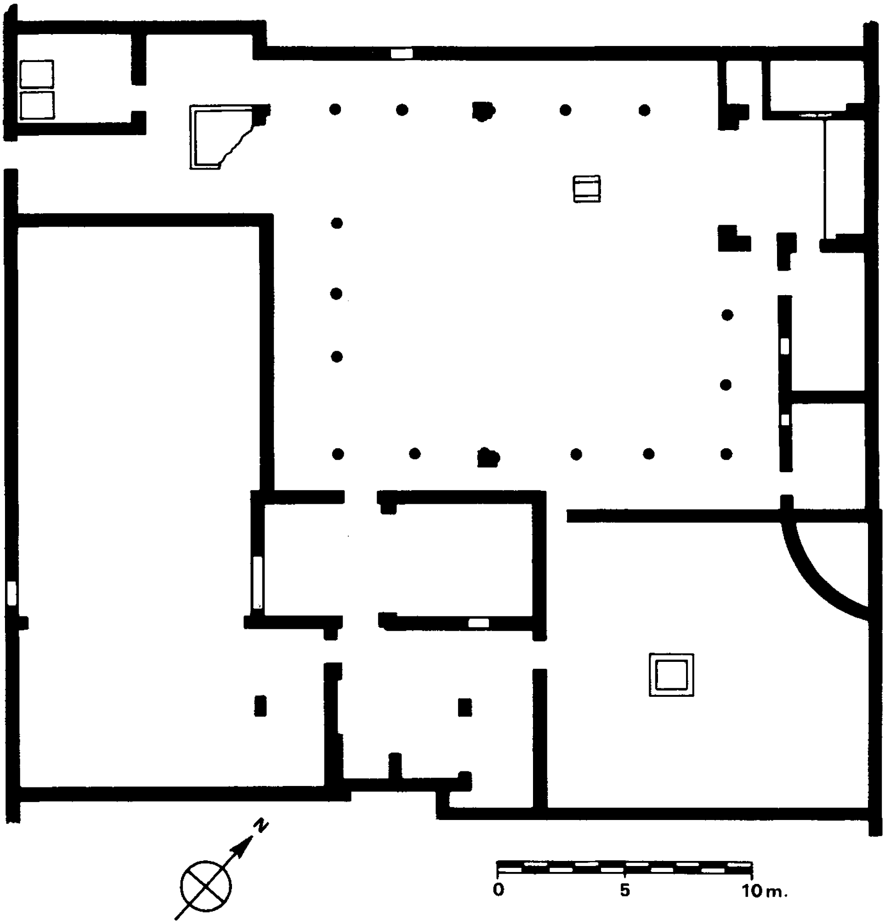

Fig. 1

Near this altar and in the upper layer two terracotta vases decorated with symbols have been found:

a) Red terracotta vase (H. 0.37, diam. of the rim 0.297, diam. of the foot 0.145, diam. of the belly 0.335). Pompeii, Antiquarium, Inv. no. 10529.

Elia in *RendNap* (N.S.) 35, 1960, 6 and Pl. II, 1-2.

Red *amphora* with a little cup on each handle. The upper half of the vase is decorated with the following symbols:

Side A: *tibia*, *cornu*, *syrinx*, pair of cymbals, circular loaf of bread, lizard, *patera*, *bucranium*, indistinct long object (possibly a gherkin ?), a bunch of grapes, turtle, viper above which is a circular object (ring ?) and a *syrinx*, a pair of cymbals one of which is missing, *tibia*, *cornu*, frog or toad, ladder with four steps, circular loaf of bread, snake disappearing behind the handle.

Side B: pair of cymbals, *syrinx*, circular loaf of bread, *patera*, lizard, a damaged bunch of grapes, missing object (probably a ladder), under which was a turtle, also now lost, *tibia*, *cornu*, *bucranium*, lizard, pair of cymbals, circular loaf of bread, *patera*, snake disappearing behind the handle.

Date: first century A.D.

b) Red terracotta vase (H. 0.39, diam. of the rim 0.29, diam. of the foot 0.153, diam. of the belly 0.331). Pompeii, Antiquarium, Inv. no. 10528.

Mentioned by Elia in *RendNap* (N.S.) 35, 1960, 6 but hitherto unpublished.

The lower part of the *amphora* has been restored. Both handles are entwined by two snakes, whose heads are directed towards a cup resting upon each of the handles. Underneath the rim of the vase there are the following symbols:

Side A: medallion decorated with a bird (dove), lizard, part of whose tail is broken away, leaf of a palm-tree, medallion with the representation of a *symplegma* (Satyr recognizable by his beard and goat's legs and feet; the woman, probably a Maenad, is reclining on a couch and is leaning on her left elbow), palm-leaf broken off at its top, medallion decorated with a bird (dove) under which the upper part of a damaged lizard.

Side B: traces of a medallion, the lower part of a palm-leaf, damaged medallion again with the representation of a *symplegma* but not of the same mould used on side A, palm-leaf, the top of which has been broken off, medallion decorated with the representation of a little boy standing upon a little base and bending forward. His body seems to be covered with a loin-cloth only and his both arms are outstretched (he probably is preparing himself for the start of a foot-race).

Date: first century A.D.

Note: Dr. Fulvio De Salvia was kind enough to warn me that the Inventory numbers 10488 and 10489 as given in the publication of Olga Elia are completely erroneous.

16. Bronze hand (H. 0.109), found in Pompeii. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 5509.

Gerhard-Panofka I, 207; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 264, figs 157-158; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 70 no. C 1.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The tip of the *index* as well as the second *phalanx* of the *pollex* are mising. A snake is coiled along from the *pulsus* upwards, and rests its head between *pollex* and *index*. There is a ram's head on the *digitus minimus*. On the palm there is a turtle.

Date: first century A.D.

17. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), found in Pompeii in 1894. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 595/384. Seems at present to be lost.

Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 232, fig. 126; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 76-77 no. E 15.

A bronze hand covered with symbols. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex*. On the tips of *index* and *medius* there is a thunderbolt on which there are two claws of a bird, possibly an eagle.

Palm: frog or toad, *dipode* bearing offerings, a viper, lizard, semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child; a large bird on her right-hand side. Above the lizard probably is a triangular knife; underneath the frog or toad is a whip.

Back: a pair of scales, flying bird, crested snake, turtle, *urceus*, three-twigged pine-branch with leaves, around which is coiled a viper, *patera*, winged *caduceus*, triangle, two flutes.

Date: first century A.D.

18. Bronze hand (H. 0.203), found in Pompeii. Used to be in Naples, Museo Nazionale. Seems to be lost.

Gerhard-Panofka, 205 no. 21; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 195, fig. 104 who erroneously gives Inv. no. 5505 (see above no. 12); Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 69 no. A 4.

A bronze right hand without attributes, with *pollex*, *index* and *medius* extended; the *anularis* and the *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

Date: first century A.D.

19. Bronze figurine (H. 0.061), found in Pompeii. Braunschweig (Brunswick), Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Inv. no. A.B. 266.

H. von der Osten, *Eine neue Sabazios-Statuette* in *Orientalia Suecana* 2, 1953, 31-33 with figs; Lane in *Muse* 8, 1974, 35-37 with fig.

Sabazius with beard and whiskers in half-sitting posture placing both feet on a ram's head. He wears a Phrygian cap, short girt *tunica* and *anaxyrides*. A crescent upon the head. The right hand is outstretched and the left hand is upraised, but both hands are damaged.

Date: first century A.D.

SICILIA

Catana

20. Bronze figurine (H. 0.086), from Catana but the exact finding place is unknown. Catania, Museo di Castello Ursino (Collection Biscari), Inv. no. 699 (=M.B. 3131).

G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, Milano-Roma 1930, 99 no. 282, e and Pl. XLIX; Pace, *Arte e Civiltà* III, 680; Sfameni-Gasparro, 278f no. 337 and Pl. LXV, fig. 106.

Bearded Sabazius in half-sitting attitude, with his feet on a ram's head. He wears a Phrygian cap, a short *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides*. Both hands are upraised, but it is no longer clear if the god is making the gesture of the *benedictio latina*. The figurine certainly belongs to a hand.

Unknown

21. Bronze bust (H. 0.0425) found in Sicily, of which however the exact provenance is unknown. Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 12777.

Sfameni-Gasparro, 266 no. 313 and Pl. LXIV, fig. 104.

Head of Sabazius with beard and whiskers in Phrygian cap. Probably belonging to a bronze hand.

22. Bronze bust (H. 0.0425) found in Sicily, of which however the exact provenance is unknown. Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 12784.

Sfameni-Gasparro, 266 no. 310 and Pl. LXIV, fig. 105.

Head of Sabazius with beard and whiskers in Phrygian cap. Probably belonging to a bronze hand.

23. Bronze bust (H. 0.045) found in Sicily, of which the exact provenance is unknown. Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 12785.

Sfameni-Gasparro, 266 no. 311 and Pl. LXIV, fig. 103.

Head of Sabazius with beard and whiskers in Phrygian cap. Probably belonging to a bronze hand.

24. Bronze bust (H. 0.0375) found in Sicily, of which the exact provenance is unknown. Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 12786.

Sfameni-Gasparro, 266 no. 312 and Pl. LXIV, fig. 102.

Head of Sabazius with beard and whiskers in Phrygian cap. Probably belonging to a bronze hand.

ETRURIA

Cortona

25. Bronze hand (H. 0.114), found in Cortona near Porta S. Domenico. Now lost.

Lorini in *La valle Tiberina* III, vol. IV, (Firenze) 1868, 317-319; Heydemann, *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien*, Halle 1879, 108; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 265, figs 159-160; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 79 no. E 26.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. Against the *medius* there is a bust of Hermes wearing a winged *petasus*. The tip of the *medius* and the third *phalanx* of the *anularis* are missing. A snake is coiled once around the hand and rests its head on the outside of the *pollex*. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone.

Palm: ram's head, purse, ram's head, sacrificial knife, lizard, an unidentifiable object (insect ?), *amphora*, turtle, an unidentifiable object, frog or toad.

Back: whip, a pair of cymbals, sacrificial knife (?), pinebranch, a pair of scales, a stick entwined by a viper, a *thyrsus*, two flutes, winged *caduceus*; three bees (?).

The hand shows great resemblance to, but is probably not identical with no. 67, 70 or 96.

Montemurlo

26. Bronze hand (H. 0.083), found in Montemurlo (N.W. of Prato). Bought from Ponzecchi in 1907. Florence, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 82890.

A bronze right hand of which the extended *index* is missing; the extended *medius* and *pollex* are partly missing. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the strangely formed *pollex* there is a pine-cone. A snake winds itself twice around the *pulsus*, resting its head between the *pollex* and *index*.

Palm: nail-hole, three round loaves of bread, a turtle, an altar, a pine-tree with three branches, a pine-cone.

Back: whip, lizard, turtle.

UMBRIA

Calis

27. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), found near Cagli (= Calis) in Umbria. Lost.

Dissertazioni della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia VII, 1836, 427-428 with fig.; Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101 i; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 256, figs 145-146; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 77-78 no. E 20.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake winds itself up from the *pulsus* and rests its crested head between *pollex* and *index*. There is a round object (pine-cone ?) on the tip of the *pollex*. On the tips of *index* and *medius* we find a thunderbolt on which traces of a bird's (probably eagle's) claw. On the *digitus minimus* there is a triangular object. The other symbols are:

Palm: pine-cone, bust of a beardless man wearing a Phrygian cap, two frogs or toads, a lizard, on the *pulsus* an altar or a column.

Back: viper, pair of scales, purse.

LIGURIA

Vada Sabatia

28. Bronze hand (H. 0.155, W. 0.065), found in Vada Sabatia. London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1898.11-19.1.

V. Poggi in *NSc* 1891, 45; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 69 no. A 2; *BMCBronzes*, no. 3216 (in which Asia Minor is given as place of finding and 1898 as the year of excavation; impossible: see *NSc* 1891, 45); Lane in *Numen* 27, 1980, 13.

A bronze right hand without attributes, of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended. The *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is an inscription on the *pulsus*.

GrInscrBrMus IV, 217 no 1100 MC.

Height of letters: 0.0065-0.009 ca.

'Αριστοκλῆς / ἐπιστατεύσα[ς] / Δι[ὶ] Σαβαζίω(ι).

Date: third century A.D.

Other finds point to a date in the third century A.D. This hand as well as the following (no. 29) have been found in a hoard of small bronzes.

29. Bronze hand (H. 0.13), found in Vada Sabatia in Liguria, in February 1891. Lost.

V. Poggi in *NSc* 1891, 45-47; V. Poggi in *Strenna Savonese per l'anno 1894*, 103ff; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 77 no. E 17 with figs 35-36; Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 241.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. Against the *index* and the *medius* a bearded figure with a moustache (Sabazius), wearing Phrygian dress, is sitting. With the fingers of his left hand he makes the gesture of benediction; in his outstretched right hand he is holding a round object (pine-cone ?). On the *pollex* there is a pine-cone and on the *digitus minimus* a ram's head.

Palm: frog or toad, lizard, turtle, little table with offerings, woman reclining in a semi-circular *caverna* nursing a child and behind her a bird (possible an eagle).

Back: a pair of scales under which an indistinct object, winged *caduceus*, snake, loaf of bread, two flutes, whip, three cups, corn-ear, indistinct object.

Mrs. Irmgard Kriseleit was so kind to inform me that in 1901 this hand was offered for sale to the Staatliche Museen in Berlin by the dealer Leman of Paris, but the piece was not bought. The museums still possess original photographs (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antiken-Sammlung, Neg. nos Ant. 722-723).

GALLIA TRANSPADANA

Brixia

30. Bronze hand (H. 0.075), found near Brescia in the so-called Minervahill, in 1839. It was found near San Afra during the excavation of an aqueduct. Donated by Giovanni Battista Chizola (1843). Brescia, Museo Civico, Inv. no. HR 292.

Cat. Rizzini, no. 39; *Museo Bresciano illustrato* I, Brescia 1838, 146-147, Pl. XLI, 4; Heydemann, *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien*, Halle 1879, 109; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 238, figs 129-130; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 71 no. D 2.

A bronze right hand along which is coiled a crested snake in the direction of the extended *pollex*. The *index* and the *medius* are also extended and bear a pine-cone. Of the *anularis* and the *digitus minimus* only the first *phalanges* are preserved.

31. Bronze hand (H. 0.125), possibly found in Mairano near Brescia. This hand is alleged to have been found in 1882, during excavations in a field near the city. Brescia, Museo Civico, Sala III, Exhibition-case III, no. 3; Inv. no. HR 304.

Cat. Rizzini, no. 38; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 236-237, figs 127-128; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 77 no. E 19.

A bronze right hand around which is coiled a snake, with its head resting between *pollex* and *index*. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex*.

Palm: loaf of bread (divided into four), lizard, turtle, frog or toad.

Back: ram's head, pine-branch, *phallus*, stick entwined by a snake, *cista*, winged *caduceus*.

Date: third century A.D.

Gr. St. Bernhard

32. Bronze hand (H. 0.115) found in 1762 on the Great St. Bernhard in the sanctuary of Jupiter. Great St. Bernhard, Hospitium, Inv. no. 13.

Chrétien de Loges, *Essais historiques sur le Mont St. Bernard*, 1789, 53f; H. Meyer in *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 13, 1861, 125f and Pl. 1, 1 a-b; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 260, figs 151-152; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 72 no. E 3; F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit*, Basel 1931², 520; Basel 1948³, 556 and fig. 167; R. Fellmann, *Die Schweiz zur Römerzeit*, Basel 1957², 119 no. 39, fig. 38; R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la Vallée du Rhône* (EPRO 30), Leiden 1972, 101; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, London 1973, 216f; Annalis Leibundgut, *Die Römischen Bronzen der Schweiz* III. *Westschweiz. Bern und Wallis*, Mainz 1980, 107 no. 123 and Pl. 135 with some other bibliography; R. Fellmann, *Der Sabazios-Kult* in M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Die Orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* (EPRO 93), Leiden 1981, 337 Pl. III.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex.*

On the hand we find the following symbols:

Palm: little table with pine-cone.

Back: lizard, snake resting its head between *index* and *medius*, frog or toad, turtle.

SARDINIA

Gurulis Vetus

33. Bronze hand (H. 0.054, W. 0.022, *pulsus* Ø 0.019), found in Padria in the north-east of Sardinia, in 1845. Cagliari, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 14658.

Sotgiu, 6-8 and Pls I-III with previous bibliography.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. Against *index* and *medius* (of which the tips are missing), there is the head of a bearded god with a moustache, wearing a Phrygian cap (Sabazius). Underneath his head there is a ram's head. On the *pulsus* there is a semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child. A snake is coiled around the hand, resting its head on the back of the hand, where we also find a purse, a frog or toad, a lizard, a *cista mistica* and a turtle.

Date: end of the second century A.D.

Tharrus (?)

34. Hairpin (L. 0.113) in ivory probably from Tharros. Cagliari, Archaeological Museum, without Inv. no.

Sotgiu, 10 no. 6 and Pl. VI.

The pin ends in a hand making the gesture of the *benedictio latina.*

35. Hairpin (L. 0.123) in ivory probably from Tharros. Cagliari, Archaeological Museum, without Inv. no.

Sotgiu, 10 no. 7 and Pl. VII.

The pin ends in a hand making the gesture of the *benedictio latina.*

Unknown

36. Bronze figurine (H. 0.10) found in Sardinia, of which however the exact finding place is unknown. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiquarium, Inv. no. 8231.

A. Furtwängler in *AA* 1892, 111 no. 14; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud,* 99 *e* and fig. 41; Sotgiu, 8 no. 2 and frontispiece.

Sabazius with beard and whiskers in a half-sitting posture resting his feet on a ram's head. He wears a Phrygian cap, a short girt *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides.* Both hands are upraised; with the right hand he is making the *benedictio latina,* the left hand is badly damaged but in each case the *pollex* is extended whereas the other fingers seem to be folded into the palm. Certainly belonging to a hand.

37. Bronze bust (H. 0.043) found in Sardinia, of which the exact provenance is unknown. Cagliari, Archaeological Mueum, without Inv. no.

Sotgiu, 9 no. 3 and Pl. IV.

Head with beard and whiskers wearing a Phrygian cap (Sabazius). Probably belonging to a hand.

AFRICA

MAURETANIA

Tipasa

38. Bronze hand (H. 0.139), found in Tipasa. Musée d'Alger, Inv. no. unknown.

P. Wuilleumier, *Musée d'Alger, Supplément,* Paris 1928, 68 and P. VIII, 4; St. Gsell in *BACTH* 1906, CCXXXII with Pl. XC; M. Leglay, *Les religions orientales dans l'Afrique ancienne,* Alger 1956, 12-16 and fig. 3; E. Benouniche, *Le Musée National des antiques d'Alger,* Alger 1974, 32.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself three times, resting its head in front of the *index* and *medius. Pollex, index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pinecone on the tip of the *pollex,* and on the tips of *index* and *medius* there is a thunderbolt on which bird's claws are visible. Against the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* we find a clothed bust of Hermes/Mercury in a winged cap.

Palm: ram's head below the *digitus minimus* with an indistinct object attached to it, loaf of bread, frog or toad, *amphora.*

Back: a turtle, a lizard, a pine-branch.

HISPANIA

TARRACONENSIS

Emporiae

39. Bronze bust (H. 0.03) found in Alcudia de Elche near Ampurias (Emporiae). Ampurias, Archaeological Museum (?), in 1953 still in a private collection.

A. García y Bellido, *Una deidad oriental en la España romana. El culto a Sabazios* in *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* I, 1953, 361 and Pl. IV, fig. 1.

Head of Sabazius with beard and whiskers in Phrygian cap.

GALLIA

GALLIA NARBONENSIS

Famars

40. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), found in Famars (near Valenciennes). Lost.

Caylus, *Recueil* III, 438 and Pl. CXXI, 3; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 70 no. B 3; Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 242.

Bronze hand without symbols, with a pine-cone between the extended *pollex*, *index* and *medius*, as if handing it over to worshippers. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

At the bottom a rather peculiar protruding part, acting as a support.

Drawing based on Caylus, who might have accidentally drawn a positive figure whereas he should have given a negative one because of the printing process.

GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS

Condate

41. Bronze hand (H. 0.115), found in Condate (Corseul), Côtes-du-Nord. Rennes, Musée de Bretagne, Inv. no. 794.1.349.

Antiquités romaines et gallo-romaines - Bronzes - Millice romaine, Rennes, 1868, 360; A. André, *Catalogue raisonné du musée d'archéologie de la ville de Rennes*, Rennes

1876², 134 no. 570 bis; R. Mowat in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 23, 1879, 259-261; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 69 no. A 5; Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 242; *Catalogue des objets d'archéologie armoricaine (préhistoire, protohistoire et époque gallo-romaine) de la collection du Président de Robien, Musée de Bretagne, Musée de Rennes*, Rennes 1972, 40, fig. 3; 43 no. 22.

A bronze right hand with *pollex*, *index* and *medius* extended, the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* slightly crooked. The second and third *phalanx* of the *anularis* and the second one of the *pollex* are missing.

According to Mowat on the inner side of the wrist a "sort of branch", on the back five ringlets in the form of an X have been engraved.

Date: first half of the third century A.D. (?).

GALLIA BELGICA

Samarobriva = Civitas Ambianorum

42. Bronze hand (H. 0.10, W. 0.05), found in 1848 in Amiens, Faubourg Noyon (information from Miss Véronique Alemany, Keeper of the Museum). Amiens, Musée de Picardie, Inv. no. Cat. 1876, 609.

Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929⁴, Pl. XV, 2; E. Espérandieu, *Deux mains panthées inédites et répertoire des objets de cette sorte* in *Cahiers d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* 39, XI, (Nîmes) 1936, 513-526 with figs; L. Richard, *Bronzes sabaziaques au Musée d'Amiens* in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (S. 6) 46, 1974, 165-170, especially 167ff with figs 2-3.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a ram's head; on the tip of the *index* is a thunderbolt with one claw of an eagle; on the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* is a little base probably serving as a support for a figurine.

Palm: turtle, pine-cone, the crested head of a snake which winds itself twice around the *pulsus* and rests its head between the *pollex* and *index*. Below the snake is a frog or toad.

Back: lizard on the *pollex*; pair of scales (offering table according to E. Espérandieu; grotto "fort mal réussie" according to L. Richard).

By way of ornamentation three cords come down from the *pulsus*, ending in three *phalli*.

Date: third century A.D.

43. Bronze figurine (H. 0.085) found at Amiens in a necropolis situated in Faubourg Guérinville, in the southern part of the city. Amiens, Musée de Picardie, Inv. no. 755.

S. Reinach in *RA* 1894, 374f and fig. 2; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 99 *c*; Ch. Picard in *RA* 1961, 153f; L. Richard in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (S. 6) 46, 1974, 165-167 with fig. 1.

Sabazius standing with upraised hands on a ram's head. He wears a Phrygian cap, a *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides*; the god is bearded and has long hairlocks. With his right hand he makes the gesture of the *benedictio latina*; the left hand possibly held a pine-cone. The figurine is an applique.

Turnacum

44. Bronze hand (H. 0.144) allegedly found in the vicinity of Tournai = Doornik (Hainaut) at the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Inv. no. 4522/173/17B.

Complete bibliography in G. Faider-Feytmans, *Cultes orientaux à Tournai à l'époque romaine. La main de Sabazios* in *Miscellanea in Memoriam Paul Coremans = Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 15, 1975 [1976], 124-134 with figs; G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les bronzes romains de Belgique*, Mainz 1979, 212 no. B 28 and Pls 197-198 who proved that the hand is a fake. The hand in London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1895.6.21.4 (H. 0.145, W. 0.073) acquired in 1895 seems to be a copy of this Turnacum-fake (*cf. BMC Bronzes*, no. 876; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 80f no. E 29).

Rumst

45. Bronze hand (H. 0.155) found in Belgium on the Meuleveld = Molenveld = Millfield in a Roman *vicus* near the village of Rumst (arr. Antwerpen) in 1823. Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire = Cinquantenaire, Inv. no. A 878 b.

Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 81 no. E 30 and fig. 38; other bibliography in G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les bronzes romains de Belgique*, Mainz 1979, 75 no. 59 and Pls 37-38; M. F. Mariën, *Belgica Antiqua*, Antwerpen 1980, 244 no. 157 with fig.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm and hold a pine-cone. A crested snake is coiled upwards around the *pulsus* and rests its head below the *pollex*.

Palm: four-pointed star, lion's head, four-pointed star (symbol of Cybele between the Dioscures).

Back: pair of cymbals, two flutes of different type (*cornu* and *tibia*), arrow, lyre, whip, *phallus*, *caduceus*.

Sedan

46. Bronze hand (H. 0.03), found near Sedan. Used to be in Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. 505 (seems to be lost).

Grivaud de la Vincelle, *Recueil de monuments antiques, la plupart inédits et découverts dans l'ancienne Gaule* I-II, Paris 1817, 53 and Pl. 5, fig. 3; de Longpérier, no. 505; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 69f no. A 6; Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 242.

A bronze right hand without attributes or symbols, of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended. The *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

HELVETII

Aventicum

47. Bronze hand (H. 0.115), found in January 1845 in the Canton of Vaud near Lake Morat (Murten) in the neighbourhood of Aventicum. Switzerland, Avenches, Musée romain d'Avenches, Inv. no. 447 (597).

G. de Bonstetten, *Recueil d'antiquités suisses*, Bern-Leipzig-Paris 1855, 22 and Pl. 20; H. Meyer in *AZ* 1854, 486ff; O. Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 102 o; H. Meyer in *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 11, 1856, 35 and Pl. 3; H. Meyer in *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 16, 1869, 47 and Pl. 18; E. Dunant, *Guide illustré du Musée d'Avenches*, Genève 1900, 66 and Pl. 10, 6; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 244-248 with figs 135-136; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 75 no. E 12 and Pls III-IV; Eisele in Roscher, *MythLex* IV, *col.* 241 and figs 5-6 on *col.* 246; H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, 113 fig. 47; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* II, München 1950; 1961², Pl. 13, 3; R. Fellmann, *Die Schweiz zur Römerzeit*, Basel 1957², 119 no. 38 and figs 34-35; J. Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire*, London 1970, 172 fig. 56; R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la Vallée du Rhône* (EPRO 30), Leiden 1972, 101; A. Leibundgut, *Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz* II. *Aventicum*, Mainz 1976, 84ff no. 89 and Pls 55-56; *Bronzes romains de Suisse* (*Exposition à l'occasion du Vᵉ Colloque International sur les Bronzes Antiques à Lausanne*), Lausanne 1978, 51 no. 65 with figs.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone; a snake winds itself around the *pulsus* up as far as the bottom of the *pollex*.

On the hand we find the following symbols:

Palm: head of Hermes with *petasus* (damaged), bust of Sabazius bearded and with a moustache and Phrygian cap, bell, branch. Underneath the bust of Sabazius are the two caps (*pilei*) of the Dioscuri.

Back: bust of a male holding his right hand on his head which is covered by a drapery, ram's head, frog, turtle, *hydria*, lizard, *tympanum*, bust of a woman with mural crown, woman reclining nursing a child at her right breast.

Date: second half of the first - first half of the second century A.D.

48. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), found in Avenches. Lost.

Chrétien de Loges, *Essais historiques sur le Mont St. Bernard*, 1798, 53 (*non vidi*); Meyer in *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 11, 1856, 47 n. 4; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 70 no. B 5.

Hand as well as drawing are lost. De Loges mentions a pine-cone probably on the *pollex*.

GERMANIA SUPERIOR

Dangstetten

49. Bronze right hand (H. 0.055), found in the Castra of Dangstetten. Freiburg in Breisgau, Inv. no. Da 221, 1.

G. Fingerlin, *Dangstetten, ein augusteisches Legionslager am Hochrhein* in *BRGK* 51-52, 1970-1971 [1972], 197-232, especially 212 and Pl. 14, 3.

A bronze hand without attributes, of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended (*benedictio latina*). The *anularis* and the *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake winds itself around the hand resting its head on the *pollex*.

Date: Augustan period.

GERMANIA INFERIOR

Colonia C.A.A.

50. Bronze hand (H. 0.11), provenance Cologne, am Perlenpfuhl. Cologne, Römisch-germanisches Museum, Inv. no. 1466.

G. Ristow in *KJb* 9, 1967-1968, 107-111, fig. 31; E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler Orientalischer Gottheiten im Römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 40), Leiden 1974, 30 no. 32 and Pl. 120; G. Ristow, *Religionen und ihre Denkmäler in Köln*, Köln 1975, 55-57, fig. 56.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm, carrying a pine-cone. A snake is coiled upwards from the *pulsus* to the *digitus minimus*. Against *index* and *medius* there is a bearded head with a moustache, wearing a Phrygian cap. The symbols on the hand are unclear.

Palm: semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining nursing a child (?), ram's head, turtle.

Back: whip, pair of scales, three little cups, *amphora*, lizard, frog or toad.

Date: third century A.D.

MACEDONIA

Edessa

51. Bronze hand (H. 0.14), found in Edessa near Hagios Loucas, in 1957. Greece, Thessalonica, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 5094.

Karamanolis-Siganidis in *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, 149-155, Pls 99-101.

A bronze right hand, of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The hand is covered with a thin layer of gold (0.005 in thickness). *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are holding a pine-cone. A snake winds itself around the hand, resting its head on a *crater* in the palm of the hand. Below the *crater* there is a lizard, with on its left a stylized *thyrsus*. Above the lizard there is a frog or toad. Between *pollex* and *index* there is a ram's head, and on the back of the hand a turtle.

ILLYRICUM

Scodra

52. Bronze hand (H. 0.11), found in Vadejës (Shkodër = Scodra). Albania, Tirana, Musée d'archéologie et d'ethnographie, Inv. no. 237.

Archeologia 78, 1975, 12, 18 with fig.; *L'art Albanais à travers les siècles*, Exposition Petit Palais, Paris Décembre 1974-Février 1975, no. 237 with fig.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone and on the *digitus minimus* there is an *amphora*. A crested snake is coiled upwards from the *pulsus* with its head resting between the *anularis* and *digitus minimus*.

Palm: underneath the head of the snake is a little pedestal (?). The other symbols are: frog or toad, lizard, turtle, *dipode* bearing three loaves of bread, *amphora*, semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child and on her right hand side before her a large bird (eagle).

Back: pair of scales, torch (?), *syrinx* (?), *caduceus*, knife, vine-leaf, viper entwining a staff, loaf of bread, altar (?), purse, unidentifiable object, *tibia* and *cornu*, little pine tree (?) and three little cups or three bees on the bottom edge.

PANNONIA INFERIOR

Sotin (?)

53. Bronze hand (H. 0.093), allegedly found in Sotin. Yugoslavia, Zagreb, Arheološki Muzej, Inv. no. 4593/B 95.

AEMÖ III, 1879, 171 no. 6; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 71 no. C 4; Š. Ljubić in *VHAD* I, 1879, 108, Pl. IV, 2; J. Brunšmid, *Bronzani predmeti* in *VHAD* XIII (N.S.), 1913-1914, 244 no. 95 and fig.; P. Selem, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine* (EPRO 85), Leiden 1980, 251 no. 3 and Pl. XLI.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

A snake comes up from the *pulsus*, winds itself once around the *index* and rests its head on the back of the hand on the third *phalanx* of the *index*. In the bottom of the hand there is a nail-hole.

Date: third century A.D.

Mursa

54. Bronze hand (H. 0.13, W.0.035), found in Pannonia Inferior. Yugoslavia, Osijek, Museum of Slavonia, Inv. no. 628-6244.

M. Bulat in *OZ* VII, 1960, 8; P. Selem, *Les religions orientales dans la Pannonie romaine* (EPRO 85), Leiden 1980, 250f no. 1 and Pl. XXXIX.

A bronze left (!) hand around which a snake winds itself, resting its head on the outside of the *pollex*. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The *medius* is missing. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone.

Palm: turtle, nail-hole.

Back: frog or toad, nail-hole, lizard.

The hand is badly damaged, and its inside is hollow.

Date: second or third century A.D.

For the left hand see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madaurus. The Isis-Book* (*Metamorphoses, Book XI*) (EPRO 39), Leiden 1975, 203ff.

PANNONIA SUPERIOR

Ravazd

55. Bronze hand (H. 0.062), found in the Roman Villa in Ravazd near Györ. Györ, Xántus János Museum, Inv. no. 53.212.5.

AErt 18, 1898, 317 with fig. on p. 49; V. Récsey, *Pannónia római község maradványai Pannonhalma tövében* (*Ueberreste der römischen Ortschaft am Fuss von Pannonhalma*), Györ 1899, 39; Gy. Veidinger, 39 no. 402; E. Lovas in *Boll. Ass. Int. Studi Mediterranei* 2, 1931, 3; N. Láng in *AErt* 1944-1946, 184 n. 8 and Pl. XXXV, 1; Edith B. Thomas, *Römische Villen in Pannonien*, Budapest 1961, 296 and fig. 153; Kádár, *Ungarn*, 60-61 and Pl. VI, 13.

A bronze right hand around which is wound a snake, ending near the *pollex*. Its head is missing. *Pollex* and *index* are missing for the greater part but seem to have been extended. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are missing for the greater part, but seem to have been folded into the palm. The *medius* is extended.

PANNONIA (?)

56. Right hand (H. 0.165) in yellow-brown glazed terracotta, probably from Pannonia. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (National Museum), Inv. no. 10.1951.257.

I. Paulovics, *Régészeti Gyütemény Vezetöje, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, O. M. Tört. Muz.*, Budapest 1939, 85; Gy. Veidinger, 39 no. 402; Kádár, *Ungarn*, 61.

Terracotta hand with *pollex*, *index* and *medius* (the last two have been restored) extended; *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

Palm: probably a lizard and a frog or toad, both very vague.

Back: turtle, snake coiled upwards towards the *pollex*, two crossed flutes, salamander (?).

DACIA

Jena

57. Bronze hand (H. 0.133), found near Zsen(n)a, now Jena, during railway works between Timişoara and Orşova. Budapest, National Museum, Inv. no. 141-1876. Acquired in 1876.

J. Hampel in *Archeologiai Közlemények AErt* XIII, 1880, 72ff and figs 37-38; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 79-80 no. E 28, figs 37-38; M. Macrea, *Le culte de Sabazius en Dacie* in *Dacia* (N.S.) III, 1959, 328f and figs 3-4; Picard in *RA* 1961 (2), 142-146, figs 7-8; *Die Geschichte der Völker Ungarns*, Budapest 1967, 80, fig. 27.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended; *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The *medius* is slightly bent. There is a pine-cone against the tip of the *pollex*.

On the hand there are the following symbols:

Palm: ram's head, eagle, turtle, viper.

Back: winged *caduceus*, frog or toad, hammer, offering table (?) under which an *amphora* standing on a base decorated with a leaf-pattern, lizard.

Date: third century A.D.

MOESIA INFERIOR

Touchenitsa

58. A right and a left bronze hand (H. 0.125), found in the village of Touchenitsa, Pleven district. Bulgaria, Pleven, Archaeological Institute, Inv. no. unknown.

I. Velkov and H. Danov, *Novootkriti starini* in *IAI* 12, 1938, 442 no. 2 and fig. 237; Margarita Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia* (EPRO 95), Leiden 1983, 162f no. III, 2.

Two bronze hands so similar to each other that they are possibly from the same workshop. See also no. 54.

Pollex, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

Snakes are coiled upwards around the *pulsi* and their heads point towards the *pollices*. Other representations of this type occasionally feature part of the forearm.

Date: *terminus ante quem* 337 A.D.

CHERSONESUS TAURICA

Dnjepro-Petrowsk

59. Bronze hand (H. 0.17), found in the province of Dnjepro-Petrowsk (= formerly Ekaterinoslav). U.S.S.R., Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. no. 972.

B. Farmakowsky, *Main votive en bronze provenant du gouvernement d'Ekatérinoslav. Monument de la culture antique* in *IAK* 3, 1902, 118-121, Pl. XVI; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 77 no. E 18; *Bronzes d'art antiques*, Leningrad 1973, no. 321; M. M. Kobylina, *Divinités orientales sur le littoral nord de la Mer Noire* (EPRO 51), Leiden 1976, 27 no. 31, Pl. XX.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. In the surface there are little holes. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone. The hand is covered with symbols.

On the *pulsus* there is a semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child at her left (?) breast. Behind the woman there is a large bird (eagle ?). Above this *caverna*, on the arch, there is a *dipode*. Below the *pollex* we find an *amphora*, a pine-branch, a frog or toad, and above the pine-branch a lizard.

On the back of the hand we find a pair of scales and below them a *caduceus*. Next to it there is a snake lying almost straight along the hand, resting its head on the *anularis* and *digitus minimus*. Beside the top half of the snake there is a turtle.

EXACT PLACE WHERE THE FINDS WERE MADE NOT KNOWN

Aquileia

60. Bronze hand (H. 0.123), provenance unknown. Used to be in the Cassis Collection in Monastero near Aquileia. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Inv. no. 17732.

K. Dilthey in *AEMÖ* II, 1878, 65 n. 43; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 71 no. D 3; "*Friaul lebt*", Wien 1978, 145 no. 23 with fig. 23.

A bronze right hand around which is coiled a snake, ending on the ball of the *pollex*. *Pollex* as well as the snake's head are missing. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are not folded into the palm. *Index* and *medius* hold a pine-cone.

Baltimore

61. Bronze hand (H. 0.21), provenance unknown. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 54.2453.

Dorothy Kent Hill, *A Bronze Hand of Sabazius* in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, New York 1964, 132-135 and figs 1-4.

A unique bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. In the *pulsus* there is a rectangular opening, its height greater than its width, with an architectural surround; it is supported by little columns with capitals, a *pediment* with three *acroteria*, and in the middle a circle. Because of the two trees next to the opening one is given the effect of a landscape. Above the door there is a shelf supported by little *consoles*. On the shelf are a little pine-cone and a viper, as well as a dolphin's head. Above the viper there is a ram's head and under the ram's chin a *patera* with *umbilicus*. Next to the shelf there is a lion's head. On the tip of the *pollex* we find a large pine-cone and ears of corn, and next to these an indistinct object (a sacrificial knife ?). On the back of the hand, between *pollex* and *index*, there is a large snake winding itself once around the hand. Next to the snake there is a lizard. There is a *cicada* on the *index*. Behind the lizard next to the lion's head there is a bull's head and above it a viper. On the *pulsus* a laurel tree is growing, and next to it a *cantharos* (?) is visible. Behind the *cantharos* there is a round object, the *cista mistica* (?). Between the *laurus nobilis* and the snake's tail there are two flutes. Turning the hand a little further one sees a wreath of the *laurus nobilis* and a frog or toad next to the lizard. Furthermore, there are a turtle and a pair of scales below which there are a vine bearing fruit, a tambourine or a loaf of bread, and *cymbala* bound together with a cord. Below the *digitus minimus* there is an ear of barely, an *amphora* and beside the door a pine-tree is growing. The snake's head is missing.

Date: early third century A.D.

Berlin

62. Bronze hand (H. 0.132, W. bottom 0.037, D. bottom 0.033). Comes from a Parisian art shop. Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Antikensammlung, Inv. no. 30009.

Unpublished; see also no. 88.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself, resting its head on the frontside of the *pollex*. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm carrying a dressed bust of Hermes wearing a *petasus*. On the tips of *index* and *medius* there is a thunderbolt on which stands an eagle, its head turned to the right. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone.

Palm: loaf of bread divided in six parts, half moon, ram's head, bunch of grapes, table on which stand one large and one small vase, turtle, frog or toad.

Back: branch, lizard.

Brussels

63. Bronze hand (H. 0.184), provenance unknown. Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire (Cinquantenaire), Inv. no. 440 A. In 1875 acquired in Belgium.

Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 70 no. B 4 and fig. 30; G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les bronzes romains de Belgique*, Mainz 1979, 76 no. 60 and Pl. 39.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are almost fully extended. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are holding a large pine-cone. There is a nail-hole at the front in the bottom of the long *pulsus*.

Cleveland

64. Bronze hand (H. 0.108), provenance unknown. U.S.A., Cleveland (Ohio), The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. no. 70.95 (Legacy of Eugene Robinson Miles).

Cleveland Museum Bulletin, March 1971, 95.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. In the forearm there is a nail-hole.

Date: first or second century A.D.

Columbia

65. Bronze hand (H. 0.12), provenance unknown. U.S.A., Missouri (Columbia), Museum of Art and Archaeology, Inv. no. (Acq. no.) 64.21.

Lane in *Muse* 4, 1970, 44-45.

A bronze right hand on which a snake is coiled twice around the *pulsus*, resting its head on the inside of the *pollex*. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. In the palm of the hand a clothed man is standing, wearing a Phrygian cap, holding a stick in his left hand, pouring a libation on a little altar with his right hand. On his right there is a turtle, on his left there is a ram below which there is a *crater*. Above the turtle, on the outside of the hand, immediately below the *digitus minimus*, there is a wing and part of an eagle's body. Of this symbol a part is missing on account of damage to the *digitus minimus*. On the back of the hand there is a lizard. On the *index* there is a *cicada*. On the knuckles of the *index* and the *medius* there is a procession of three *worshippers*, going from left to the right. Next to them there is a vague, unidentifiable object. In the *pulsus* is a nail-hole.

Copenhagen

66. Bronze hand (H. 0.081), provenance unknown. Copenhagen, National Museum, Inv. no. 1355.

Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 74 no. E 7 and fig. 33 on p. 73; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* X. *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue*, New York 1964 (= Bollingen Series XXXVII), 184 and fig. 304.

A bronze right hand around which are wound two snakes. One of them rests its head on the outside of the extended *pollex*, the other between the extended *index* and *medius*. There is a barely visible pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex*. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

Palm: man stretching his arm over an altar, ram's head, frog or toad, rosette, *crater*, turtle.

Back: lizard, two flutes, *caduceus*, pine-cone (?).

67. Bronze hand (H. 0.13), provenance unknown. Copenhagen, National Museum, Inv. no. 6594.

Unpublished.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a clothed bust of Hermes, wearing a winged *petasus* on the *anularis* and *digitus minimus*. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone.

Palm: snake emerging from the back of the hand, disappearing between *pollex* and *index*, scarab (?), ram's head, scarab (?), *amphora.*

Back: pair of scales, pair of cymbals, frog or toad, winged *caduceus*, branch with three leaves, turtle, three little cups or bees, two flutes, lizard.

The hand shows great resemblance to, but is not identical with nos 25, 70 and 96.

Florence

68. Bronze hand (H. 0.054), provenance unknown. Florence, Archaeological Museum (Galleria 946), Inv. no. 2504.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The tips of *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are partly missing.

Palm: a pine-cone on the *digitus minimus*, *console*, bust of bearded Sabazius, wearing a Phrygian cap, loaf of bread, semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child, behind the woman a bird (?).

Back: pair of scales, frog or toad, crescent, lizard, snake, *amphora*, turtle.

69. Bronze hand (H. 0.07), provenance unknown. Florence, Archaeological Museum (Galleria 945), Inv. no. 2506.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself, going once around the *pulsus*, resting its head on the outside of the extended *pollex*. The *index* and the *medius* are extended as well. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *index* there is a thunderbolt, on which the claws of an eagle have been preserved.

Palm: loaf of bread, turtle, frog or toad, nail-hole.

Back: pine-branch, *lituus* or *falx*, nail-hole.

70. Bronze hand (H. 0.10), provenance unknown. Lost. Was once in the Antenori Collection in Florence. Great resemblance with the hand from Copenhagen, National Museum, Inv. no. 6594 (see above no. 67) and also with nos 25 and 96.

A. F. Gori, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum*, Firenze 1643, vol. III, LX, Pl. 5; Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101 e; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 253, figs 141-142; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 79 no. E 25.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a clothed bust of Hermes, wearing a winged *petasus*, on the *anularis* and *digitus minimus*. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone.

Palm: snake coming from the back of the hand, holding its crested head between *pollex* and *index*, purse, insect (scarab ?), ram's head, frog or toad, *amphora.*

Back: turtle, pair of scales, two cymbals, viper, *caduceus*, branch with three leaves, flute, *lituus*, lizard, three little cups.

Karlsruhe

71. Bronze hand (H. 0.059), provenance unknown. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. 822. See also no. 93.

K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung Antiker Bronzen, Grossherzoglich Vereinigte Sammlungen*, Karlsruhe 1890, no. 822, Pl. 15, 8; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 75 no. E 11.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended. The *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The *pollex* is missing after the first *phalanx* and the *medius* is lacking its tip.

Palm: head of a bearded god with a moustache, wearing a Phrygian cap (Sabazius), insect (?), ram's head, pair of scales or sacrificial table, sacrificial knife (on the *pollex*), semi-circular *caverna* with a reclining woman nursing a child.

Back: purse (?), frog or toad, snake winding itself once around the *pulsus*, lizard, *crater*, turtle.

Leiden

72. Bronze hand (H. 0.1085), provenance unknown, possibly from southern Italy (?). Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. no. B 8 (acquired in July 1821, formerly in the Bennet Collection).

L. F. J. Janssen, *Catalogus van het Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Leiden 1848, 283 no. 236; Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101 m; de Montfaucon, Suppl. I, 240; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 259, figs 149-150; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 74 no. E 6, figs 32 a-b on p. 73.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The *medius* is missing after the first *phalanx*.

There are a number of symbols on the hand. In the hollow of the hand a conical object is visible. On the outside of the *pollex* there is a lizard. A snake winds itself once around the *pulsus*, up to the back of the *index*, resting its head on the tip of this finger. On the right side of the hand, below the *pollex* and just below the snake, there is a nail-hole. On the front of the *pulsus* there is one *worshipper* to the left of the high altar, and one to its right, holding each other's right hands. The left figure could be female, the right one is male. Both are clothed.

Back: *fatillum*, an eagle with spread wings, a turtle, below the snake a frog or toad.

Date: third century A.D.

73. Bronze hand (H. 0.0915), provenance unknown. Bought in 1951 from Eric von Scherling in Oegstgeest. His family does not know where the hand comes from. Allegedly from an old English collection. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, now without Inv. no. The Inv. no. will be B 8 b.

Unpublished.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone. A snake is coiled from the *pulsus* upwards, resting its head on the inside of the hand, against the first *phalanx* of the *pollex*. On the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* there is a bust of Hermes, wearing a winged *petasus*. On the ball of the *pollex* there is a frog or toad. In the hollow of the hand there is a ram's head. Below it there is a *crater*, next to which there is a turtle. On the back of the hand, on the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* there are two cymbals and next to it a scorpion (?). At the bottom of the *index* there is a pair of scales; below the scales a pine-branch. On its right a *caduceus* and a lizard. On the snake, on the back of the hand, there are three little cups or bees. In the palm of the hand there is a nail-hole. The ram's head is damaged. An object (bust of Sabazius) could have been attached to it.

Date: third century A.D.

London

74. Bronze hand (H. 0.083, W. 0.03), provenance unknown. London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1912.7-10.1. Said to be from Marach (Aleppo).

Unpublished.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself twice, resting its head between the extended *pollex* and *index*. The *medius* is extended as well. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are holding a big pine-cone. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm.

The base is decorated with a frog or toad, a turtle and an unrecognizable object.

Date: second century A.D.

75. Bronze hand (H. 0.146), provenance unknown. London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1824.4-41.1.

Tomasini, *Manus aeneae cecropii votum referentis dilucidatio*, Amstelodamensi 1669; M. A. Causeus, *Romanum Museum* II, 6, 84, Pls 13-14; de Montfaucon II, Pl. 137, 2; *BMC Bronzes*, no. 875; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 212, figs 117-118; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 76 no. E 14; L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, Wien 1934, 495 with fig.; A. García y Bellido, *Una deidad oriental en la España romana. El culto a Sabazios* in *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* I, 1953, 345-361 with Pl. IV, fig. 2.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a pine-cone. The *index* is decorated with a viper. There is a nail-hole on the *pulsus* below the *digitus minimus.*

Palm: *amphora*, cup, ram's head, *dipode* bearing three sacrificial objects (loaves of bread), pine-branch, semi-circular *caverna* with clothed woman reclining, nursing a child.

Back: crested snake, coming up from the *pulsus* across the back of the hand, on which there is a *cicada* (?), lizard, whip, frog or toad, turtle, two cymbals, little *cornucopia* and underneath it a pair of scales, winged *caduceus, tibia, cornu, thyrsus*, little vase.

Date: third century A.D.

76. Bronze hand (H. 0.119, W. 0.048), provenance unknown. London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1879.4-10.1 (given by A. W. Franks).

M. A. Causeus, *Romanum Museum* VI, 11-14; *AZ* 1854, 440, 517; *SbLeipzig* 1855, 102; J. Becker, *Drei römische Votivhände aus den Rheinlanden*, Frankfurt 1862, Pl. 2, figs 2 a-c; *AEMÖ* 1878, 45, 57; *BMC Bronzes*, no. 874; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 75; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 261, figs 153-154; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 72 no. E 2; Lane in *Numen* 27, 1980, 13.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are supporting a pine-cone. A snake is coiled twice around the *pulsus* and rests its head on the back of the hand between *pollex* and *index.*

Palm: a square object.

Back: a turtle and a lizard.

There is an inscription (IG XIV, 1022) on the *pulsus*: Ζουγόρας εὐξά/μενος ἀνέθη/κεν Σαβαζί/[ω(ι).......].

Date: second or third century A.D.

77. Bronze hand (H. 0.192, W. 0.063) provenance unknown. London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1772.3-5.35 (Hamilton Collection).

Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 263, figs 155-156; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 70 no. B 2.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tips of the *index* and *medius* there is a pine-cone. There is a ring on the *anularis* and around the *pulsus* a bracelet. There is a nail-hole in the front of the hand.

Date: end of the second century A.D.

Madrid

78. Bronze hand (H. 0.12), provenance unknown. Madrid, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 2663 (formerly in the Salamanca Collection).

Thouvenot, 67 no. 332; L. Richard in *RACentre* 12, 1973, 287 n. 18, who does not accept that the hand belongs to the Sabazius-cult.

A bronze right hand of which all fingers are extended. The *pulsus* is wound about three times by a snake whose head rests upon the *pollex.*

79. Bronze hand (H.0.053), provenance unknown. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Inv. no. 3127 (formerly in the Salamanca Collection).

Catalogo del Museo arqueológico nacional I, Madrid 1883, no. 3127; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud,* 73 no. E 4; R. Thouvenot, 67 no. 333.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex, index* and *medius* are extended. *Anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. The hand is covered with symbols.

Palm: insect (scarab ?), bust and bearded head in Phrygian cap (Sabazius) above a ram's head. On the *pulsus* there is a semi-circular *caverna* in which a reclining woman nursing a child at her left breast.

Back: turtle, two snakes crawling upwards, putting their heads respectively on *medius* and *anularis,* frog.

Missouri

80. Bronze figurine (H. 0.092; W. 0.042), of unknown provenance. Missouri (Columbia), Museum of Art and Archaeology, Inv. no. 71.139.

E. N. Lane in *Muse* 8, 1974, 34 with fig.

Sabazius with beard and whiskers in half-sitting posture, the feet resting on a ram's head. He wears a Phrygian cap with long flaps, a short girt *tunica manicata, anaxyrides* and boots. Both hands are upraised and make the gesture of the *benedictio latina.* A crescent with two knobs at the ends.

Naples

81. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), according to Elworthy found in Herculanum (?). Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 19.

Elworthy, *Horns of Honour,* 258; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud,* 71 no. C 2.

An oblong, slender bronze hand, with *pollex, index* and *medius* extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake winds itself upwards from the *pulsus* to the tip of the *pollex.*

Date: probably first century A.D.

82. Bronze hand (H. 0.055), provenance unknown. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 5461.

Gerhard-Panofka, 200 no. 18; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 266, fig. 161; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 70 no. B 1 and 71 no. D 1.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself, resting its head on the back of the hand. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are holding a pine-cone.

Date: second century A.D.

Paris

83. Bronze figurine (H. 0.07), provenance unknown. Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. Br. 700 (former Collection Campana).

de Longpérier, no. 443; Reinach, *RépStat* II, 480, 1; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 99 *b*.

Seated Sabazius with whiskers and beard. He wears a Phrygian cap with two long flaps, a short *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides*. He holds in his outstretched right hand a pine-cone; the upraised left hand held a long staff now missing.

84. Bronze hand (H. 0.122), provenance unknown. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. Br. 836 (formerly in the Durand Collection).

de Longpérier, no. 502; Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 239, figs 131-132; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 78 no. E 23; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums* (H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* 9-11), Leipzig-Erlangen 1926, fig. 162; A. J. Festugière in *Histoire Générale des Religions* II. *Grèce-Rome*, Paris 1948, fig. on p. 377; J. Leipoldt, *Umwelt des Urchristentums* III, Berlin 1973^3, fig. 67.

A bronze right hand around which a snake is coiled three times, resting its head near the bottom of the *index*. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On these latter fingers there is a bust of Hermes-Mercury, wearing a winged *petasus* (the left wing is missing). There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex* and another one on the *anularis* as well.

Palm: *thyrsus*, ram's head (on the *pollex*), *crater*, loaf of bread and ram's head on the *pulsus*.

Back: pair of scales, frog or toad, three bees (?), branch with leaves, turtle.

Date: third century A.D.

85. Bronze hand (H. 0.057), provenance unknown. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. Br. 838 (formerly in the Durand Collection).

de Longpérier, no. 503; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 79 no. E 27.

A bronze right hand around which a snake winds itself, resting its head on the outside of the *pollex*. *Pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tips of the *index* and the *medius* there is a thunderbolt on which there are a bird's claws. The *pollex* is partly missing. There is a nail-hole on the back of the hand and a pine-cone on the *anularis* and *digitus minimus.*

Palm: ram's head (?), *crater* (?).

Back: frog or toad, turtle, lizard, on either side of which are unrecognizable objects.

86. Bronze hand (H. 0.039), provenance unknown. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. A0.20692.

Youssef Hajjar, *À propos d'une main de Sabazios au Louvre* in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, 455-472.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a crescent. Against *index* and *medius* there is the bust of a bearded god with a moustache, wearing a Phrygian cap (Sabazius). On the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* there is an indistinct object of which pieces are missing.

Palm: three unrecognizable objects, a semi-circular *caverna* in which a woman is reclining, nursing a child.

Back: frog or toad, snake, pair of scales, indistinct object, lizard, *crater*, two unrecognizable objects.

Date: third century A.D.

87. Bronze figurine (H. 0.082), provenance unknown. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. no. 76 B 71063.

Babelon-Blanchet, no. 674; Reinach, *RépStat* II, 478, 3; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 99 *d.*

Sabazius with beard and whiskers wearing a Phrygian cap, short girt *tunica manicata*, *anaxyrides* and boots. He is in seated posture and is holding both feet on a ram's head. Both hands making the *benedictio latina* are upraised, but the tips of both *medius* and *index* are missing. Part of a bronze hand.

88. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), provenance unknown. Formerly in the Pourtalès Collection. Seems now to be lost.

J. J. Dubois, *Description des Antiques de la Collection du Comte de Pourtalès*, Paris 1841, 121 no. 667; *Catalogue de vente*, Paris 1864, 130 no. 685; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 78-79 no. E 24.

"Main votive appartenant au même genre que celles qui sont déjà connues. Elle présente sur le grand doigt et l'index, un aigle posé sur un foudre. Un buste de Mercure surmonte l'annulaire et le pouce, et une forme conique domine le petit doigt. Sa partie inférieure offre encore d'autres objets moins reconnaissables" (Dubois).

Blinkenberg supposes a great resemblance with no. 84, but this hand does not show an eagle upon a thunderbolt; see however no. 62.

Rome

89. Bronze hand (H. 0.099), provenance unknown. Rome, Vatican Museums, Inv. no. 12157.

W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I, Tübingen 1963⁴, 606 no. 826.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex*. On the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* there is a bust of Hermes-Mercury, wearing a winged *petasus*.

Palm: snake coiled upwards towards the *pollex*, head of a ram, vase, loaf of bread.

Back: pair of scales, viper, turtle, lizard, winged *caduceus* and frog or toad.

90. Bronze hand (H. 0.069), provenance unknown. Rome, Vatican Museums, Inv. no. unknown (formerly Museo Kircheriano).

Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 258, figs. 147-148; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 71 no. C 3.

An oblong, slender bronze hand, with *pollex*, *index* and *medius* extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake crawls up from the *pulsus* along the outside of the *pollex* to its tip.

Sarajevo

91. Bronze hand (H. 0.155), allegedly from Gradina (?). Yugoslavia, Sarajevo, Zemaljski Musej, Inv. no. 3160.

Paškvalin, *Bronzana votivna ruka iz Sasa* in *Glasnik Zemaljskog museja u Sarajevu* XV-XVI, 1960-1961, 203-209; Lj. B. Popović et alii, *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji*, Belgrade 1969, 102 no. 134, with fig.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake is coiled three times around the *pulsus* and its head rests against the back of the *pollex*. On the back of the hand we find the following symbols: turtle, lizard, frog or toad.

Date: second or first half of the third century A.D.

St. Louis

92. Bronze right hand (H. 0.205), provenance unknown. St. Louis (Missouri), St. Louis Art Museum, Inv. no. 52, 1956.

D. G. Mitten-Suzannah F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, Mainz 1968, 311 no. 313 with Pl.; K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, New York 1979, 184f no. 163 with Pl.

A bronze right hand with green-black patina. The *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. On the tip of the *pollex* there is a small object which seems to be a pine-cone, and on the *index* is a viper. On the tips of the *index* and the *medius* one finds an eagle holding in its claws three thunderbolts and a couple of snakes. On the eagle's right wing and shoulder there is a bust of a person wearing a shoulder-cape, whose head is missing (probably Hermes-Mercury).

Palm: in the hand there is a seated bearded person (Sabazius) with his left hand making the gesture of the *benedictio latina*. He wears a Phrygian dress (Phrygian cap, *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides*) and his feet are resting on a ram's head. Below Sabazius is a little table which resembles an altar, and on which there are a pine-cone and a cup (?). Below this altar is a semi-circular grotto (*caverna*) in which a reclining woman bending over her child. Underneath the ram's head is an *amphora*.

Back: a turtle, a winged *caduceus*, a pair of scales, a locust on a snake which is coiled upwards (the serpent's head is missing). In a second row one is able to distinguish a branch, a lizard, a frog or toad, a double flute, a whip, a pair of cymbals and a small unrecognizable object. On the lower part there are a bundle of twigs wound about by a rope, a loaf of bread, a basket with three twigs.

Date: the hand is dated to the third century even to the fourth century A.D. by R. Brilliant in Weitzmann's book, but dating the object with its many symbols to the second half of the first century is in my opinion also possible. The hand is to be compared with no. 13 from Resina-Herculaneum.

Dr. Donald Bailey was so kind as to draw my attention to a little bronze figurine (H. 0.063, W. 0.052 in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1771.3-2.110; *BMC Bronzes*, no. 1226). It shows the bust of Mercury, wearing a mantle and a winged *petasus*, lying upon the extended right wing of an eagle with his left hand round its neck. The eagle has both wings spread. This little monument probably also originally belonged to a bronze hand. Provenance unknown. See Pl. LXXVIII.

Venice

93. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), allegedly came from Greece (?), in 1760. Lost. Formerly in the Nani Collection in Venice. This hand would be the same as, or the original of the hand that is now in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. 822. See no. 71.

Collezione di tutti le antichità che si conservano nel Museo Naniano, Venezia 1815, no. 366; P. M. Paciaudi, *Lettres au comte de Caylus*, Paris 1802, 231; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 74 no. E 10.

The hand E 10 = E 11 (Blinkenberg), possibly bought by the Germans. It is possible that there is only one hand, seen in different places.

Vienna

94. Bronze hand (H. 0.11), provenance unknown. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Inv. no. Br. 57.

Jahn in *AbhLeipzig* 6, 1855, 101 k, Pl. IV, 3; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 78 no. E 21.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake creeps up from the *pulsus* to the second *phalanx* of the *pollex*. In the hand, next to the *crater*, there is a nail-hole. On the *anularis* and *digitus minimus* there is a ram's head.

Palm: lizard, pair of scales, *crater*.

Back: locust, frog or toad, turtle, pine-cone.

Date: third century A.D.

95. Bronze right hand (measurements unknown), provenance unknown. Lost (formerly in the Traun Collection). The hand was bought in Paris. Was once in Vienna.

Dilthey in *AEMÖ* II, 1878, 44, 52-56, Pl. 4; Blinkenberg, *ArchStud*, 73 no. E 5.

A bronze right hand of which *pollex*, *index* and *medius* are extended, *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. A snake is wound twice around the *pulsus* and lies alongside the *index* resting its head (horned!) on the tip of this finger. There is a little hole between the *index* and the *medius*. On the hand we find the following symbols: a lizard, on the front of the *pulsus* a frog or toad, a turtle, a thunderbolt, two locusts.

Date: second or third century A.D.

Unknown

96. Bronze hand (measurements unknown), only known to me from a photograph in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum at Mainz. The hand bears the Inv. no. F 422.9, but I was not able to trace its actual whereabouts. Not in Mainz, Cologne, Bonn, Berlin.

A right hand with extended *pollex*, *index* and *medius*. The *anularis* and *digitus minimus* are folded into the palm. There is a pine-cone on the tip of the *pollex*. A snake is coiled along from the *pulsus* up to the front of the *pollex*, and rests its head below the nail of this finger.

There is a head, wearing a *petasus*, on the *digitus minimus*. Of the two wings the right one is missing (Mercury).

On the hand the following symbols are found:

Palm: loaf of bread, ram's head, lizard, *crater*.

Back: pair of scales, two cymbals (?), turtle, *caduceus*, branch of a pine-tree with three twigs with leaves, frog or toad, two flutes and above them an object which seems to be a lamp, three round objects just above the snake (bees ?).

The hand greatly resembles no. 70, but it is not identical with it nor with no. 67 and no. 25.

Date: second half of the second century A.D.

Dr. Heinz Menzel was so kind as to write me (letter 14.7.1981):
"Trotz gründlicher Suche nach der Herkunft dieser Sabazius-Hand ist es mir nicht gelungen, das Rätsel der Herkunft und der Aufbewahrung zu lösen. Es handelt sich bei der Aufnahme um eine Plattenaufnahme, d.h. dass diese schon vor Jahrzehnten gemacht wurde. Die dazugehörige Karteikarte zeigt eine merkwürdige Herkunftsbezeichnung an: Berlin, Schlossmuseum. Damit kann man aber praktisch nichts anfangen, denn ich selbst, als gebürtiger Berliner, kenne kein Schlossmuseum. Mir scheint, dass das Stück nur zum Reinigen nach Mainz gesandt wurde, aber von wem?"

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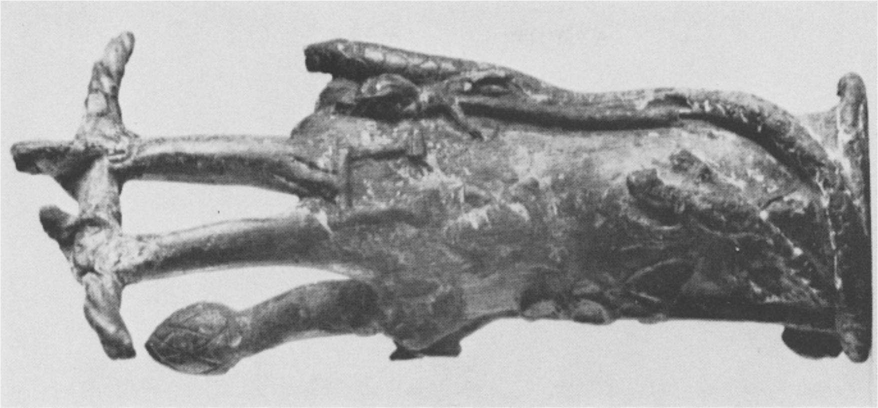
LXX, Mon. 85	Photos Musée du Louvre, Paris. Courtesy of Prof. Pierre Amiet.
LXXI, Mon. 86	Photos Musée du Louvre, Paris. Courtesy of Prof. Pierre Amiet.
LXXI, Mon. 87	Photo Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Courtesy of Miss Claude Brenot.
LXXII, Mon. 89	Photos Vatican Museums (no. XXXII.14.46). Courtesy of Prof. Carlo Pietrangeli.
LXXIII, Mon. 90	Photos after Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 258 figs 147-148.
LXXIII, Mon. 91	Photo after Lj. B. Popović et alii, *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji*, Belgrade 1969, 102 no. 134 with fig.
LXXIV-LXXVIII, Mon. 92	Photos and courtesy of the St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis (Missouri). Photo and courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.
LXXVIII, Mon. 94	Photos Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Courtesy of Dr. Wolfgang Oberleitner.
LXXIX, Mon. 95	Photos after *AEMÖ* 2, 1878, Pl. 4.
LXXX, Mon. 96	Photos Prof. Dr. Elmar Schwertheim.

PLATE I



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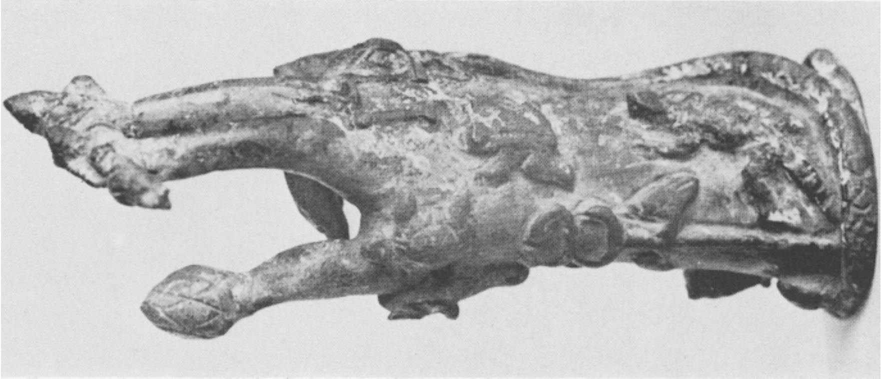

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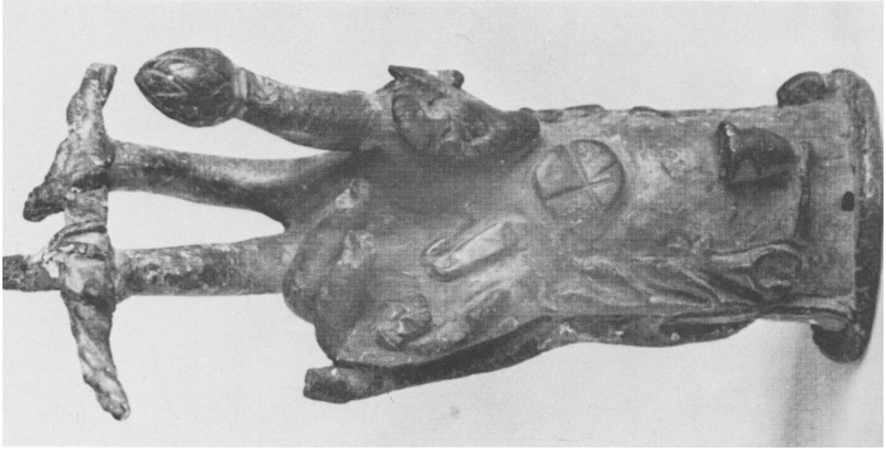

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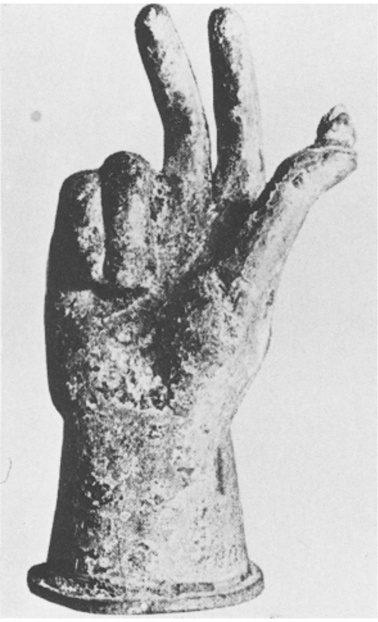

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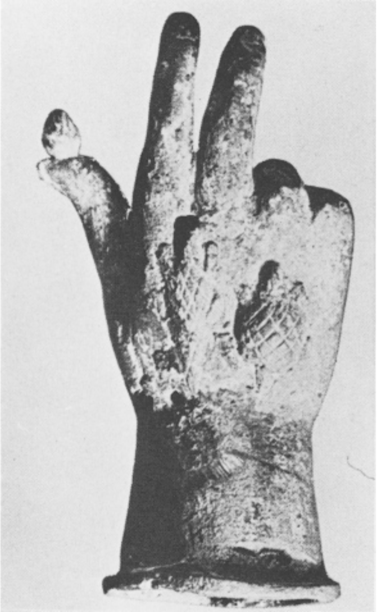

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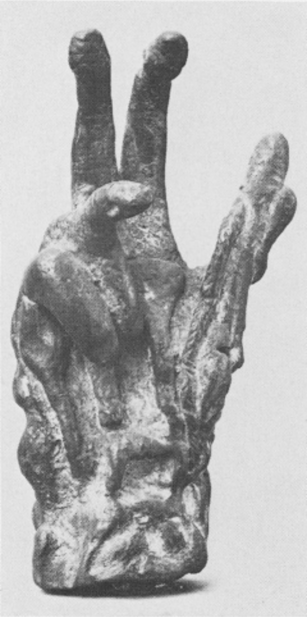

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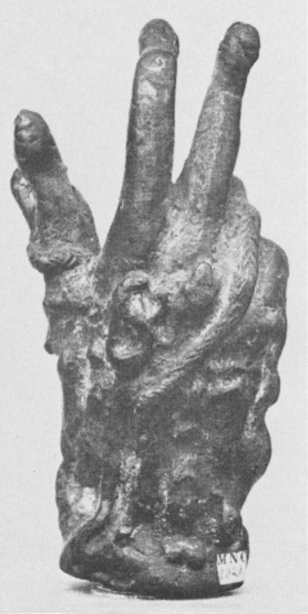

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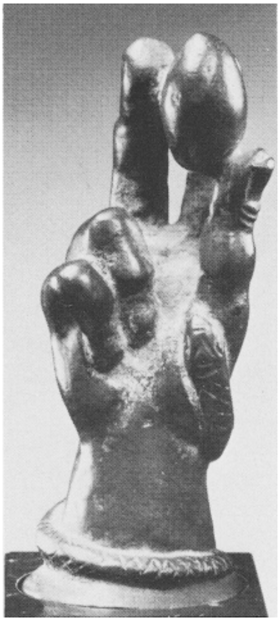

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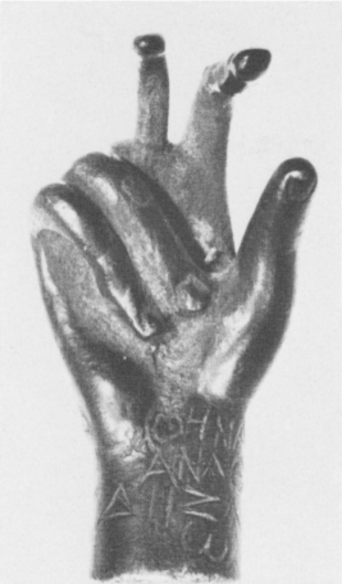

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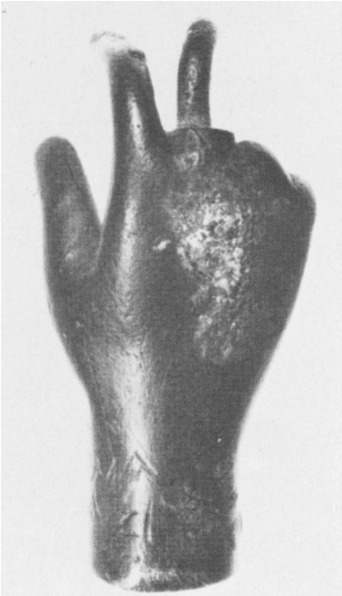

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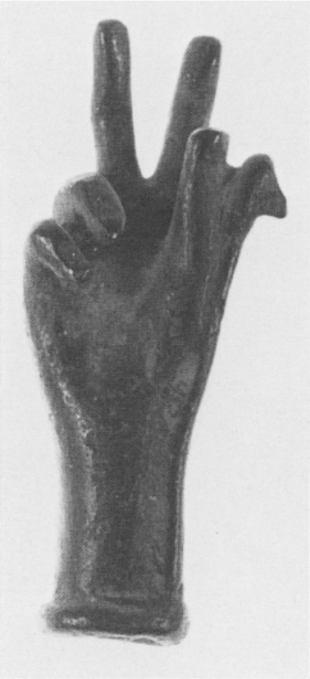
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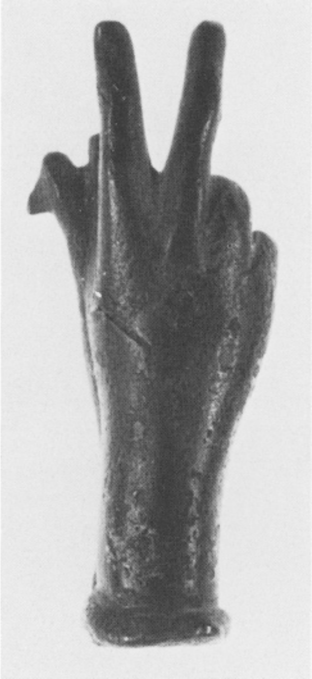
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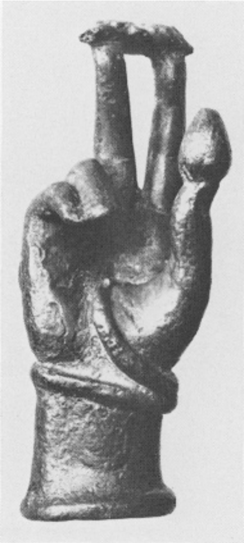
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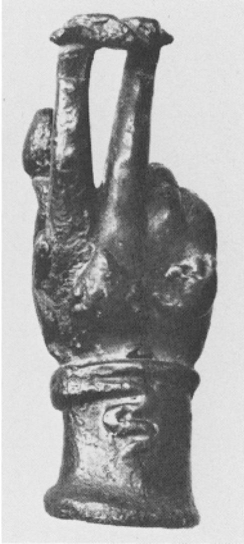
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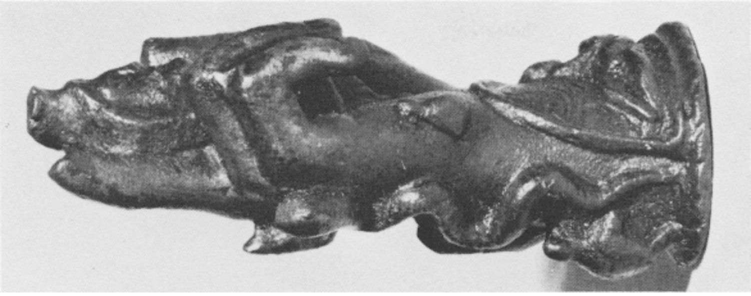
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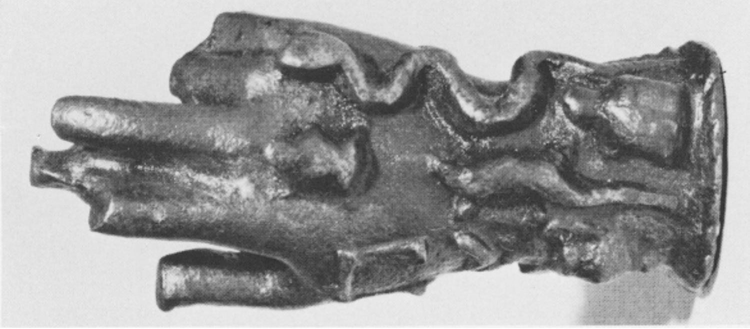
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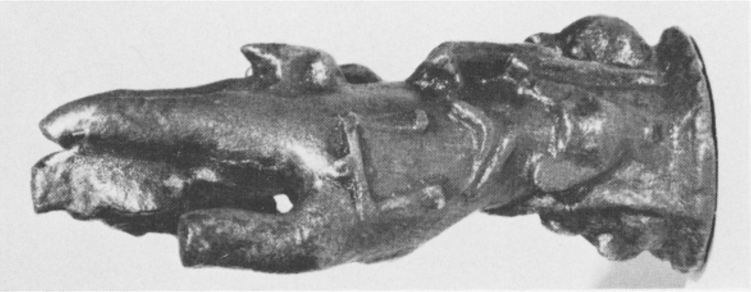
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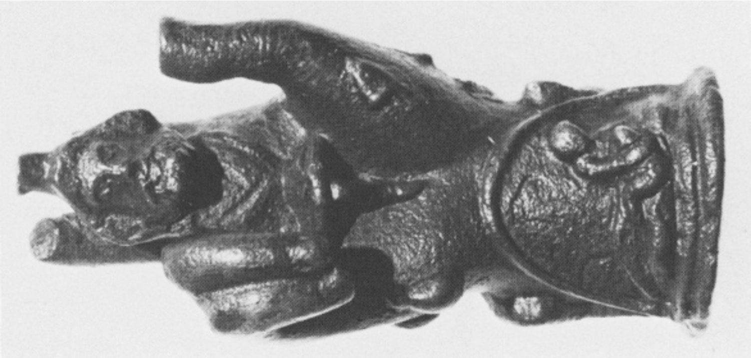
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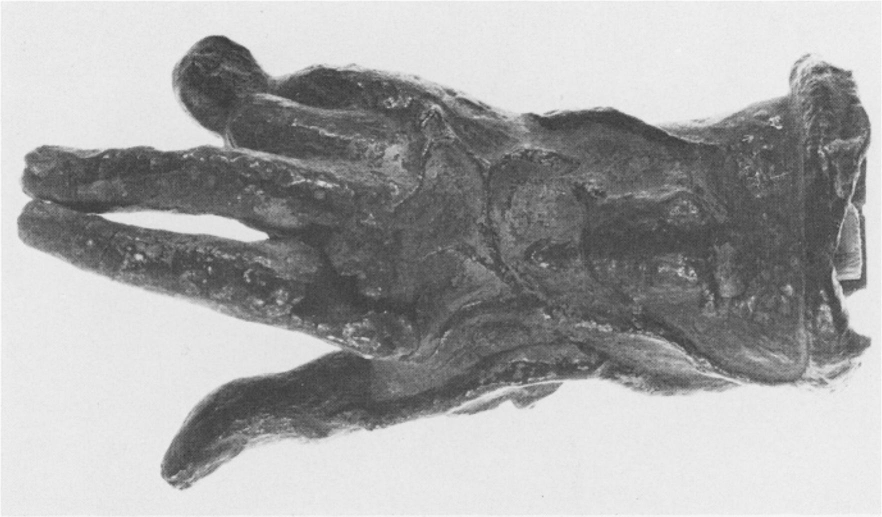

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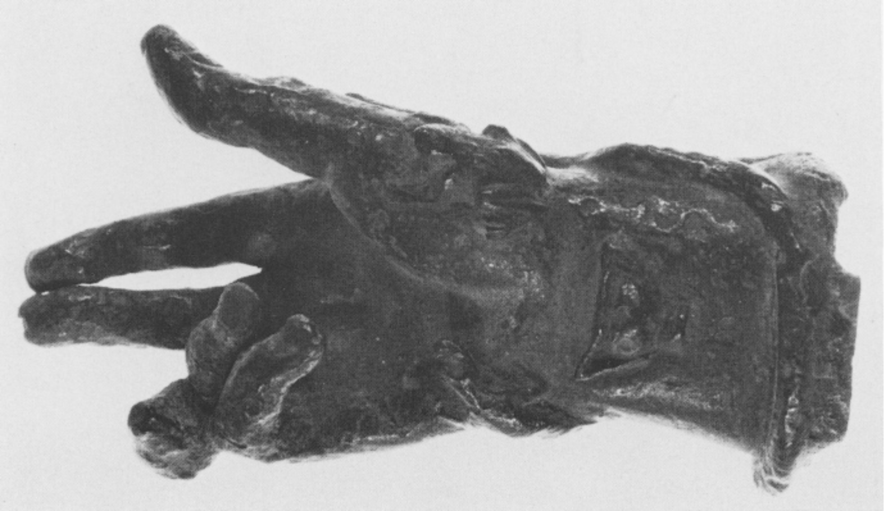

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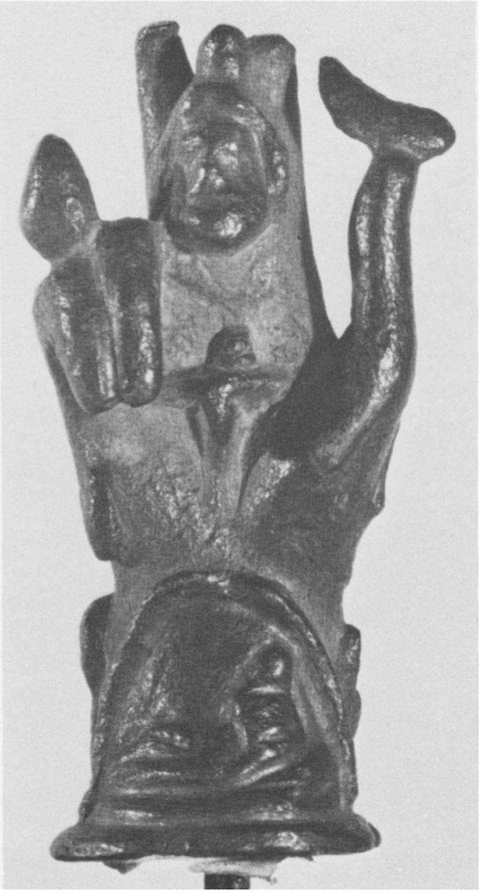

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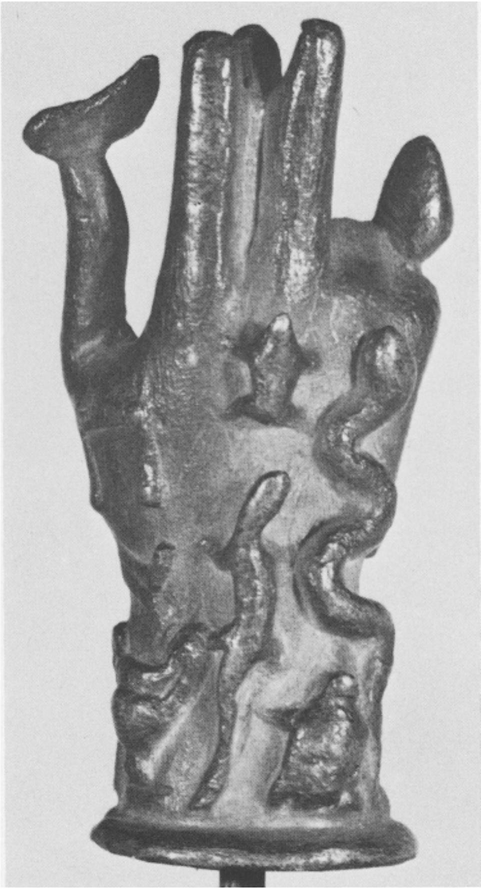

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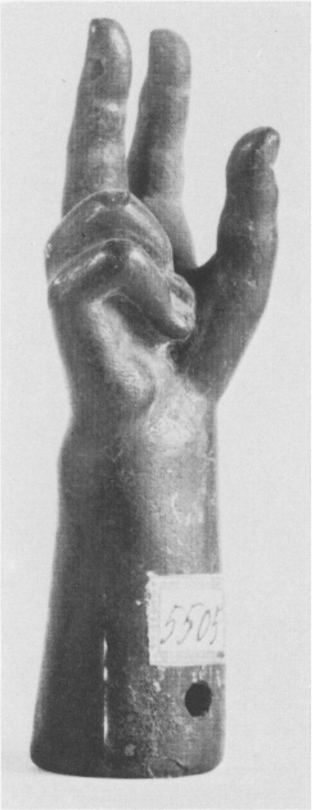

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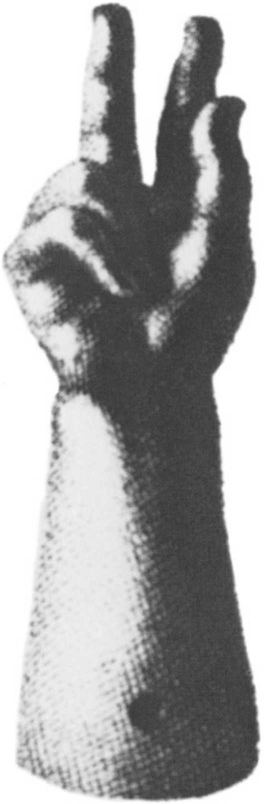

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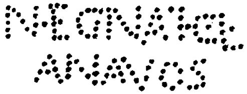

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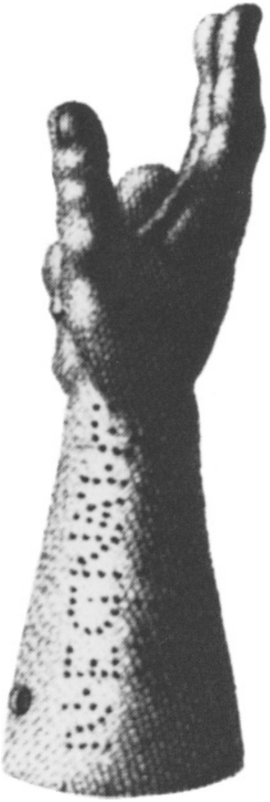

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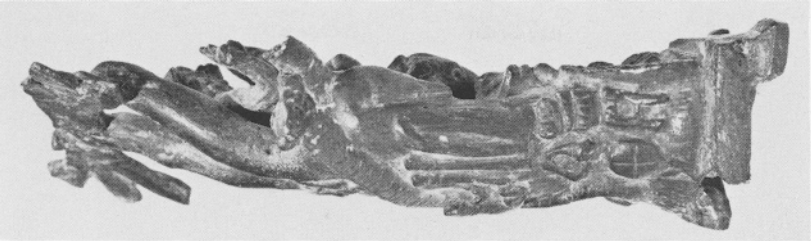

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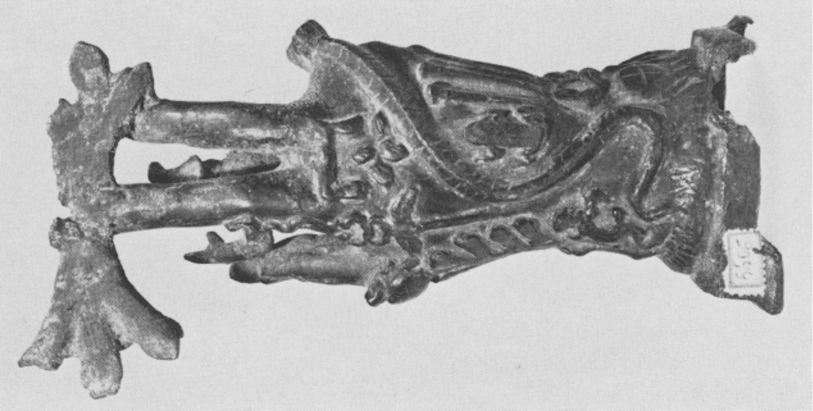

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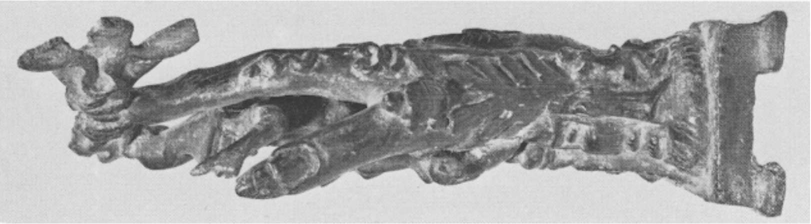

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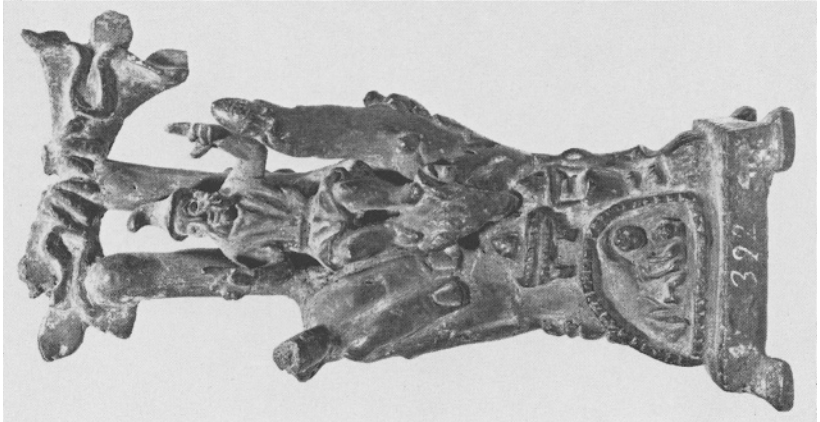

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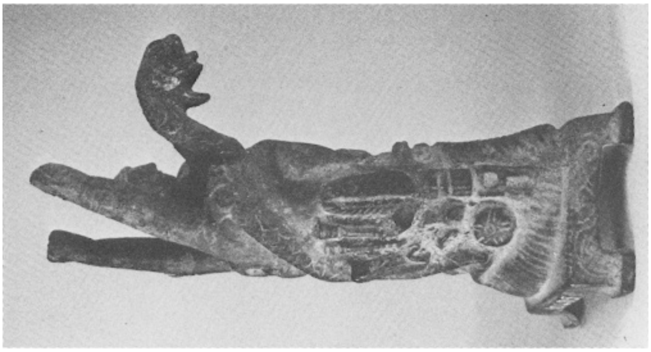

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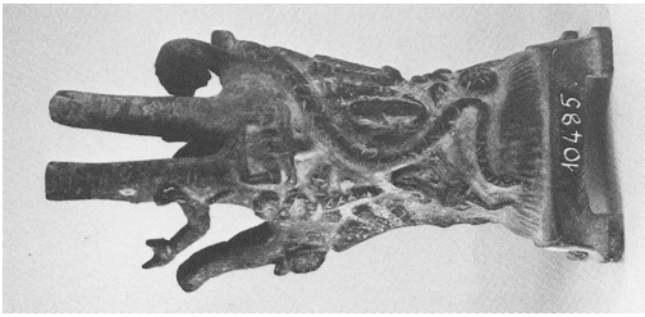

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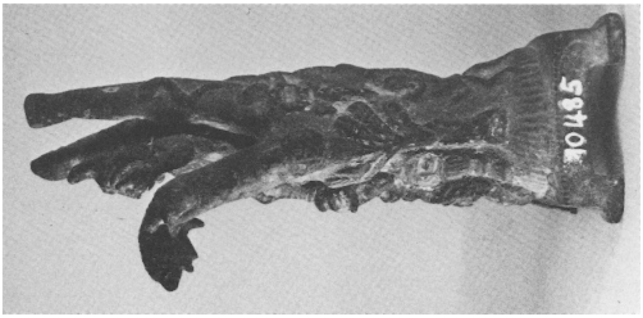

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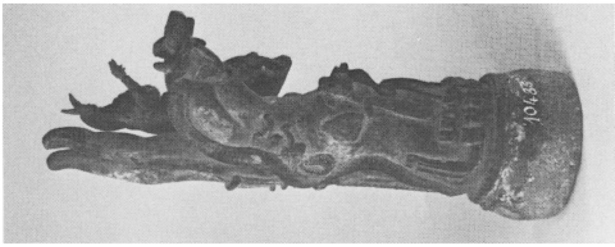

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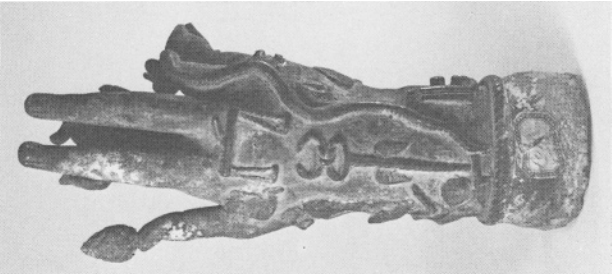

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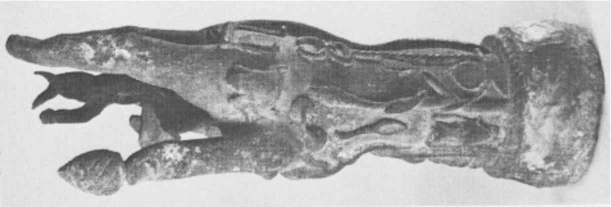

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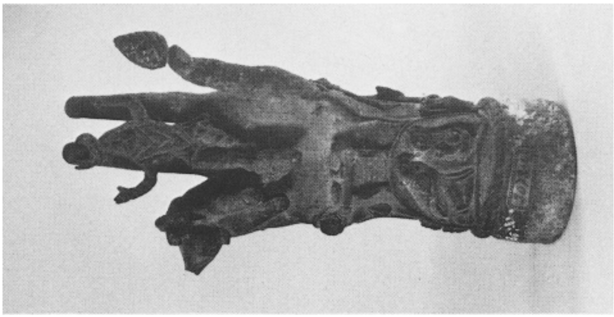

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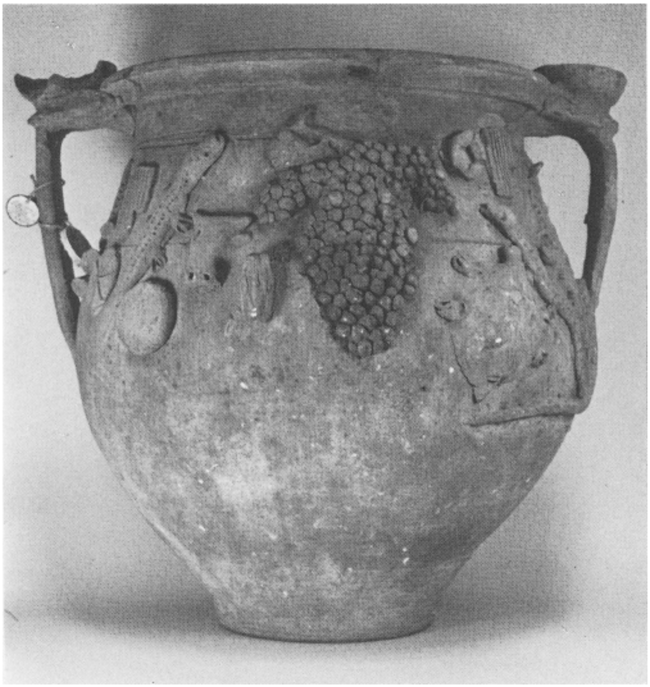

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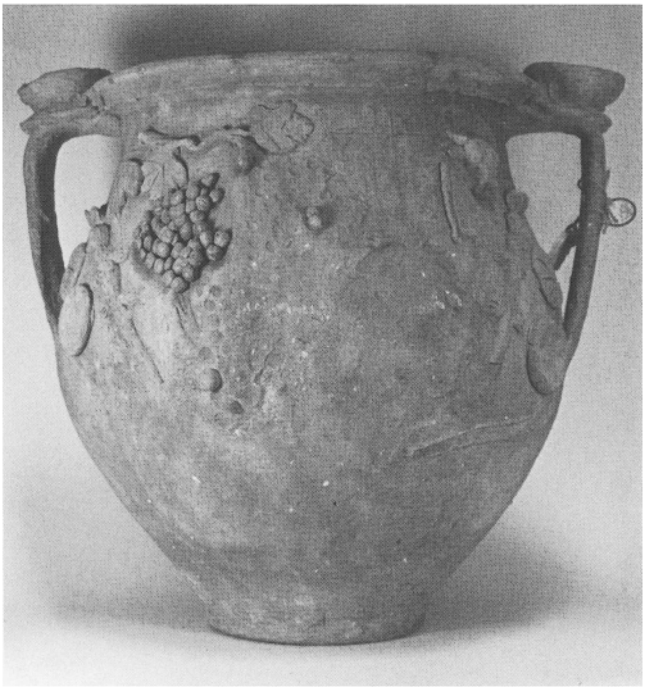

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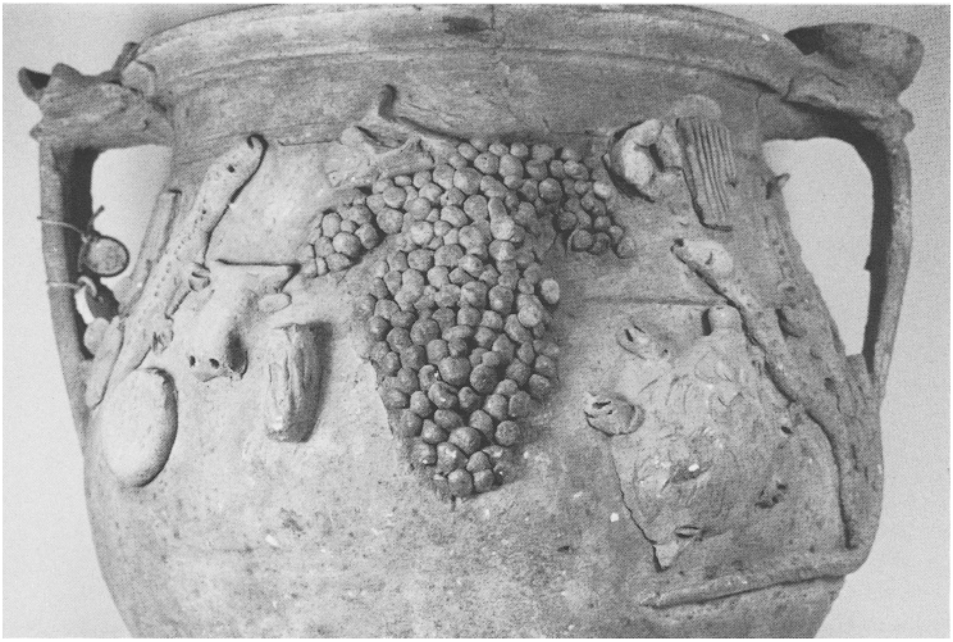

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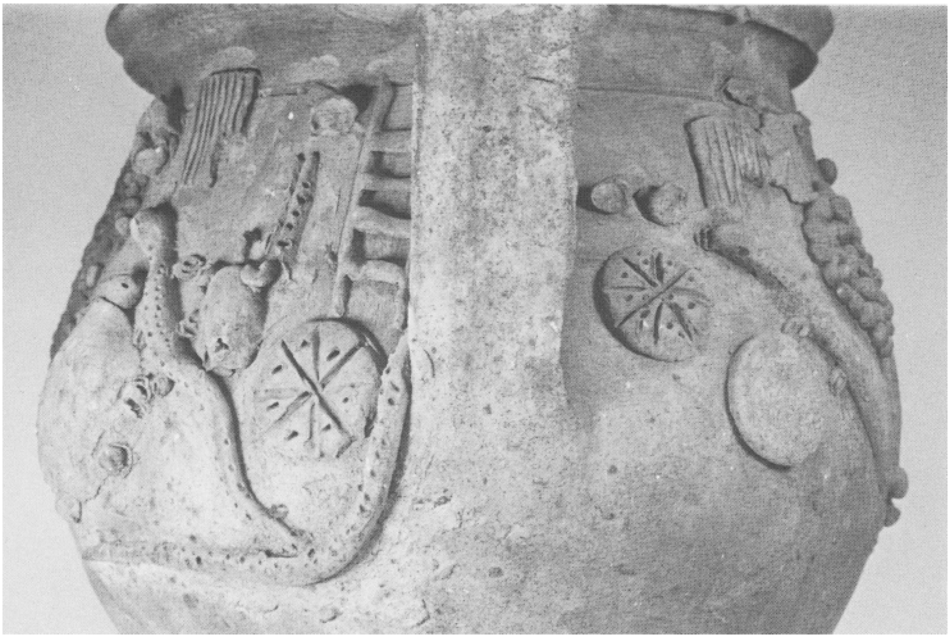

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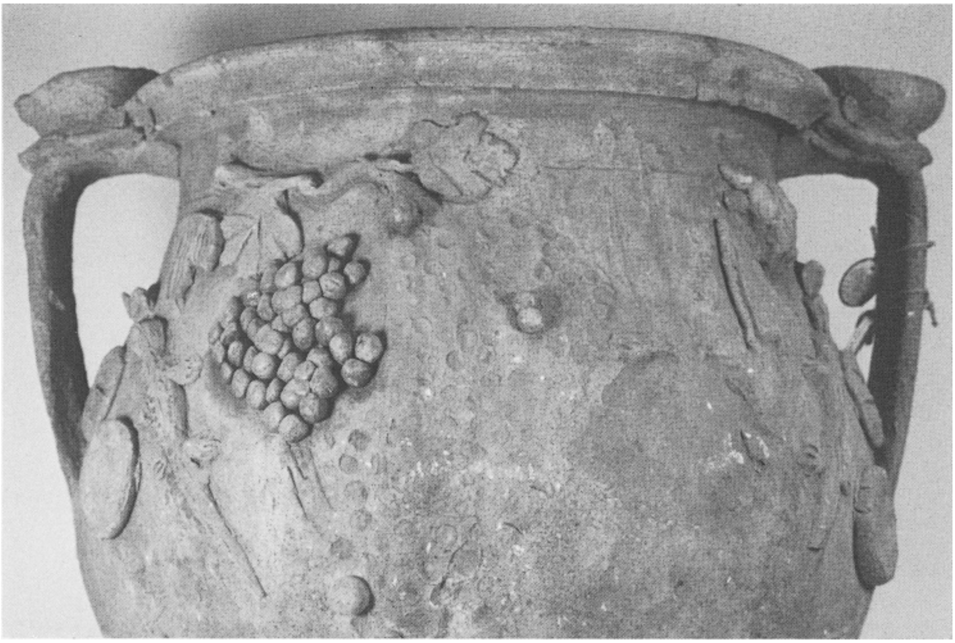

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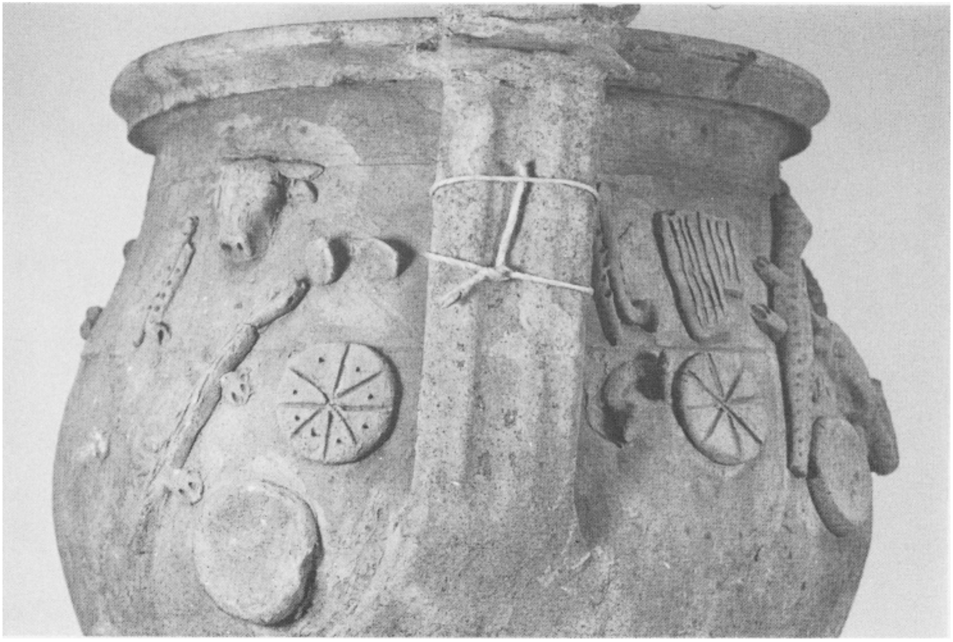

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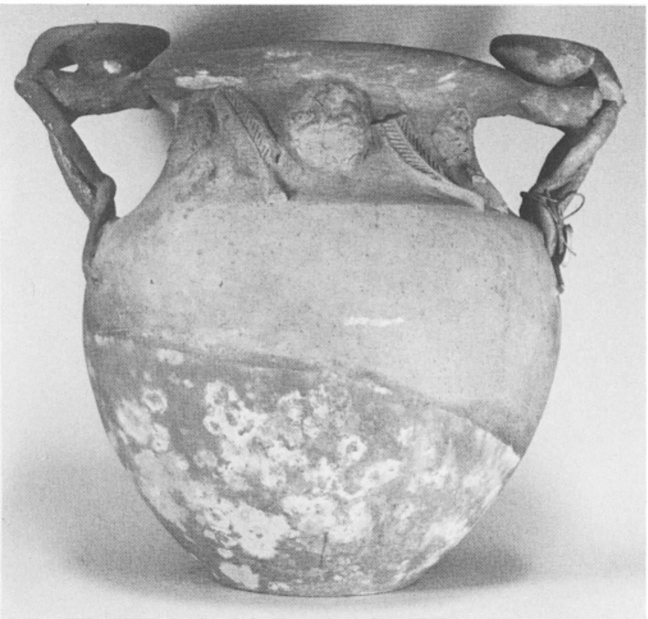

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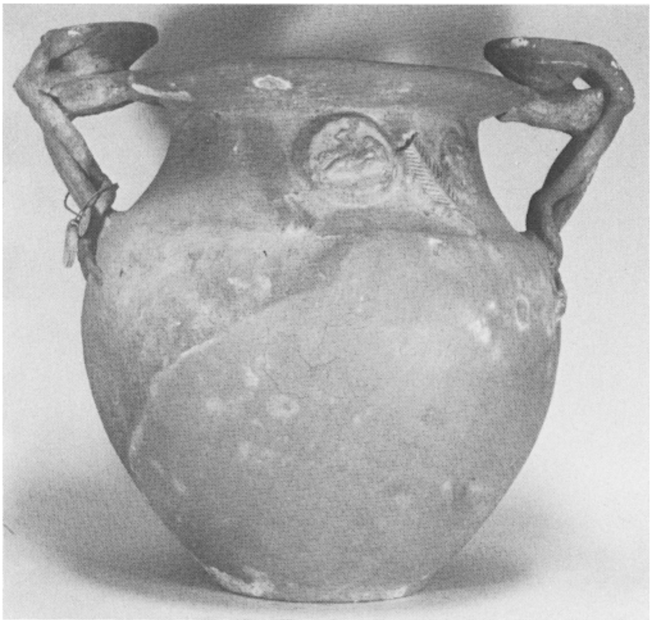

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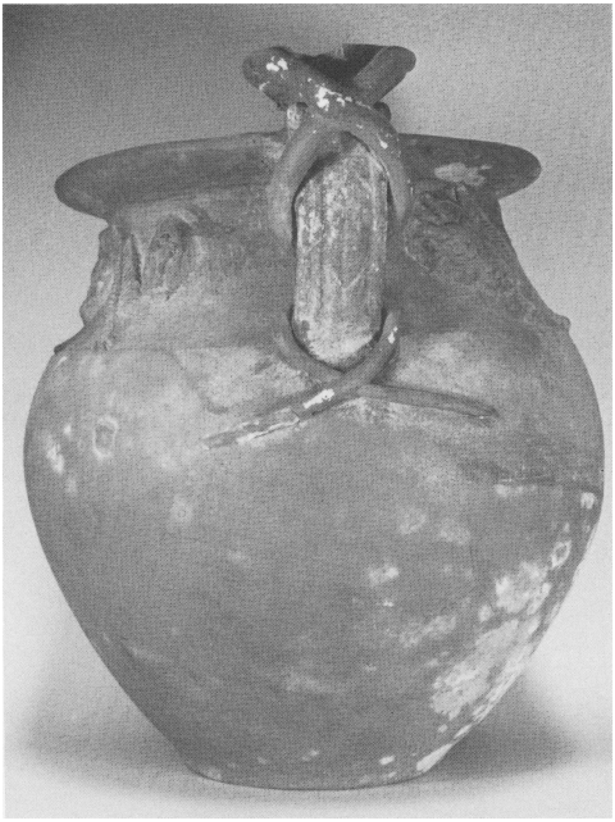

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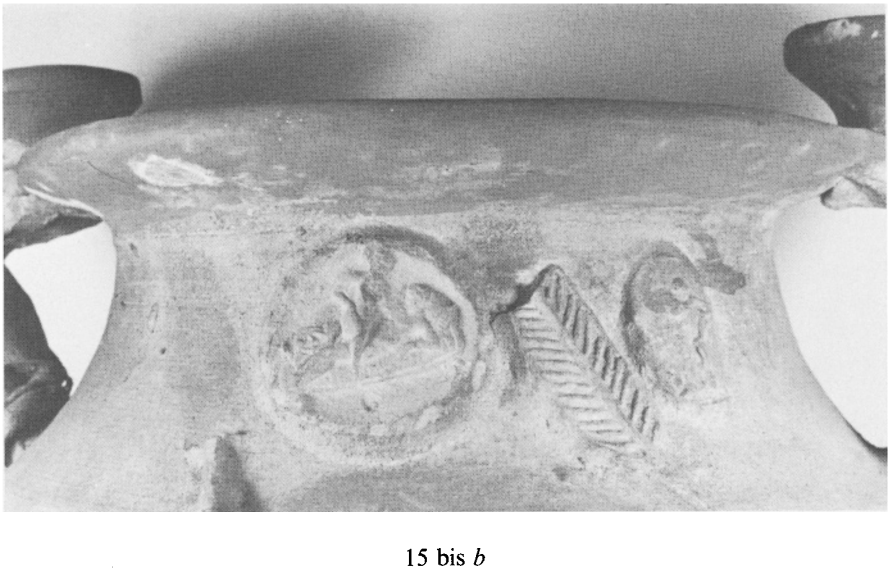

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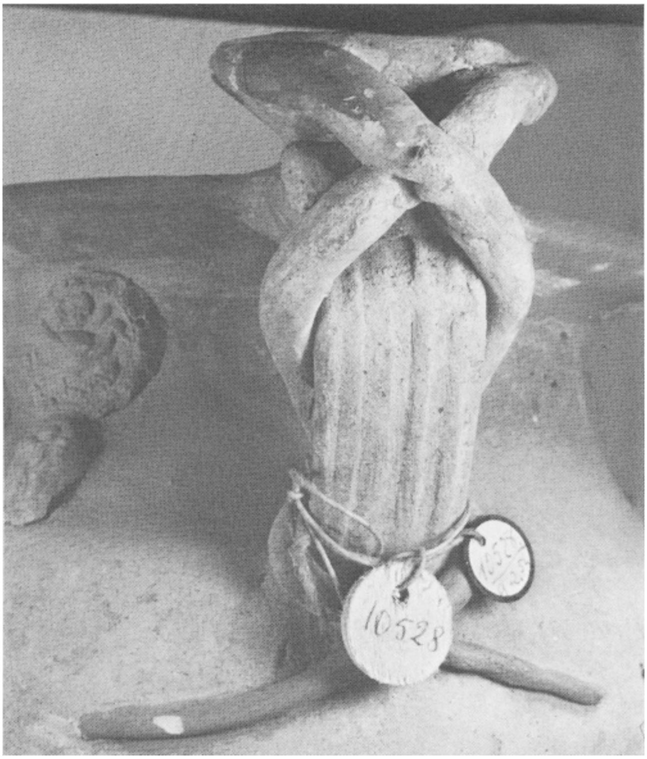

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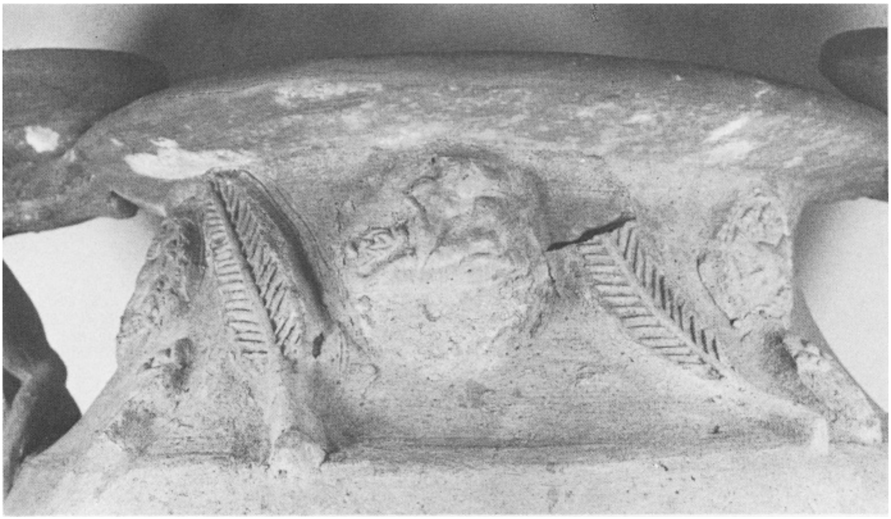

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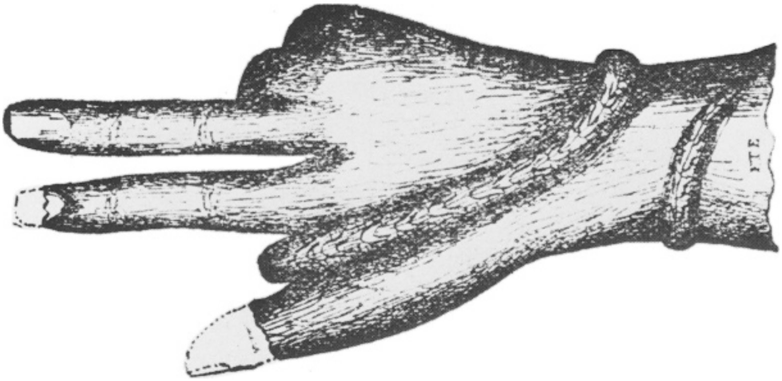

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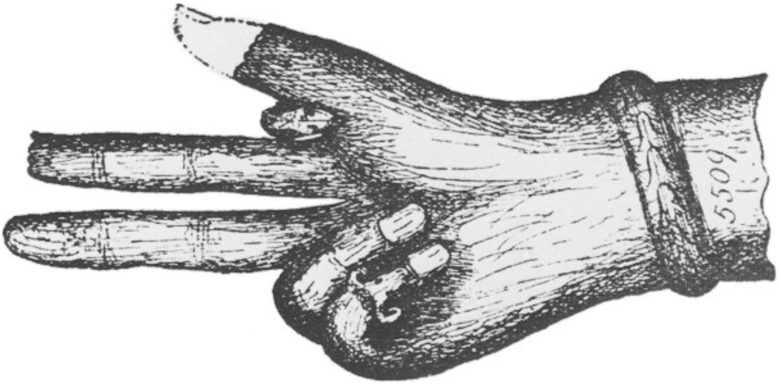

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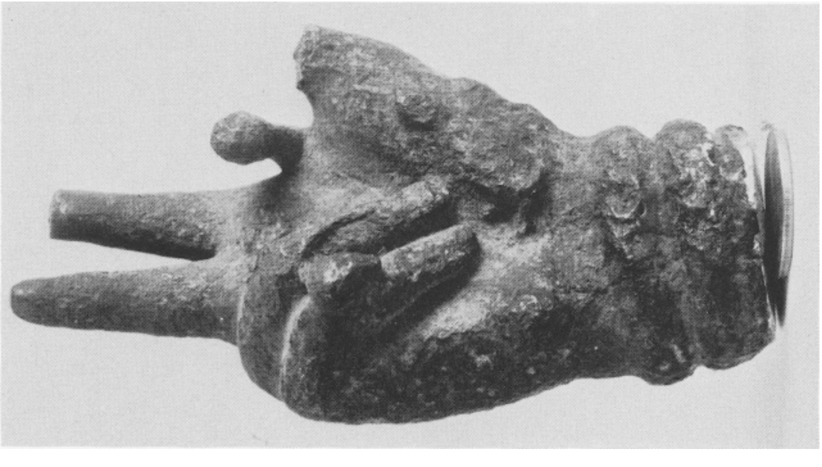

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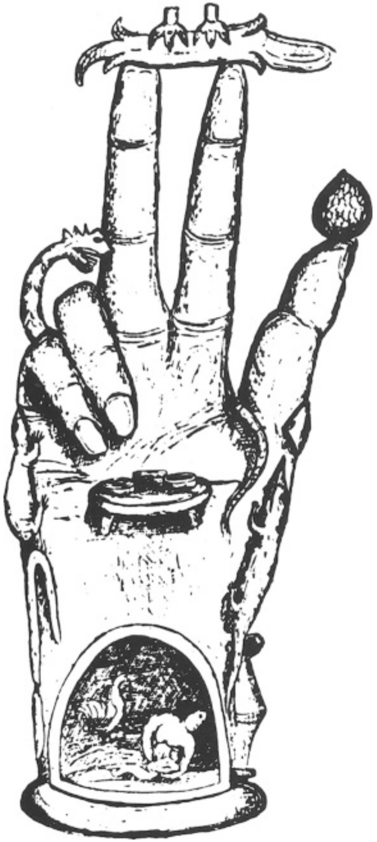

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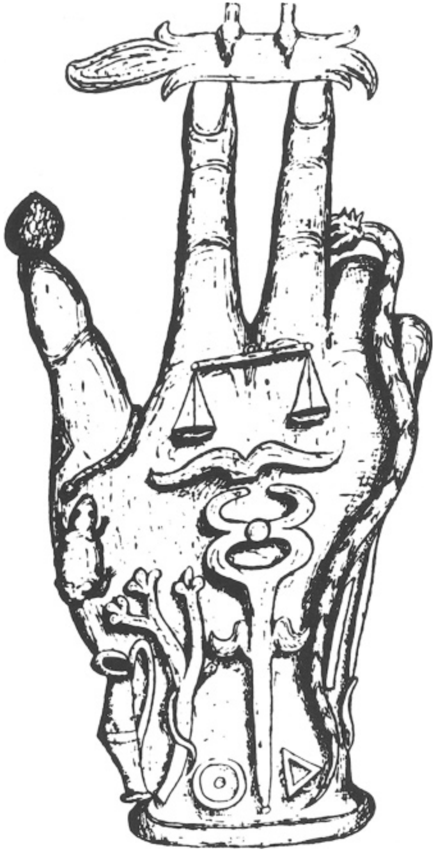

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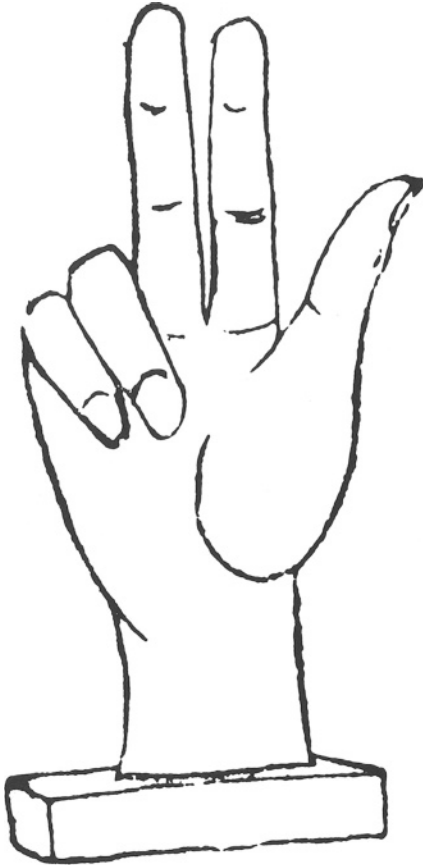

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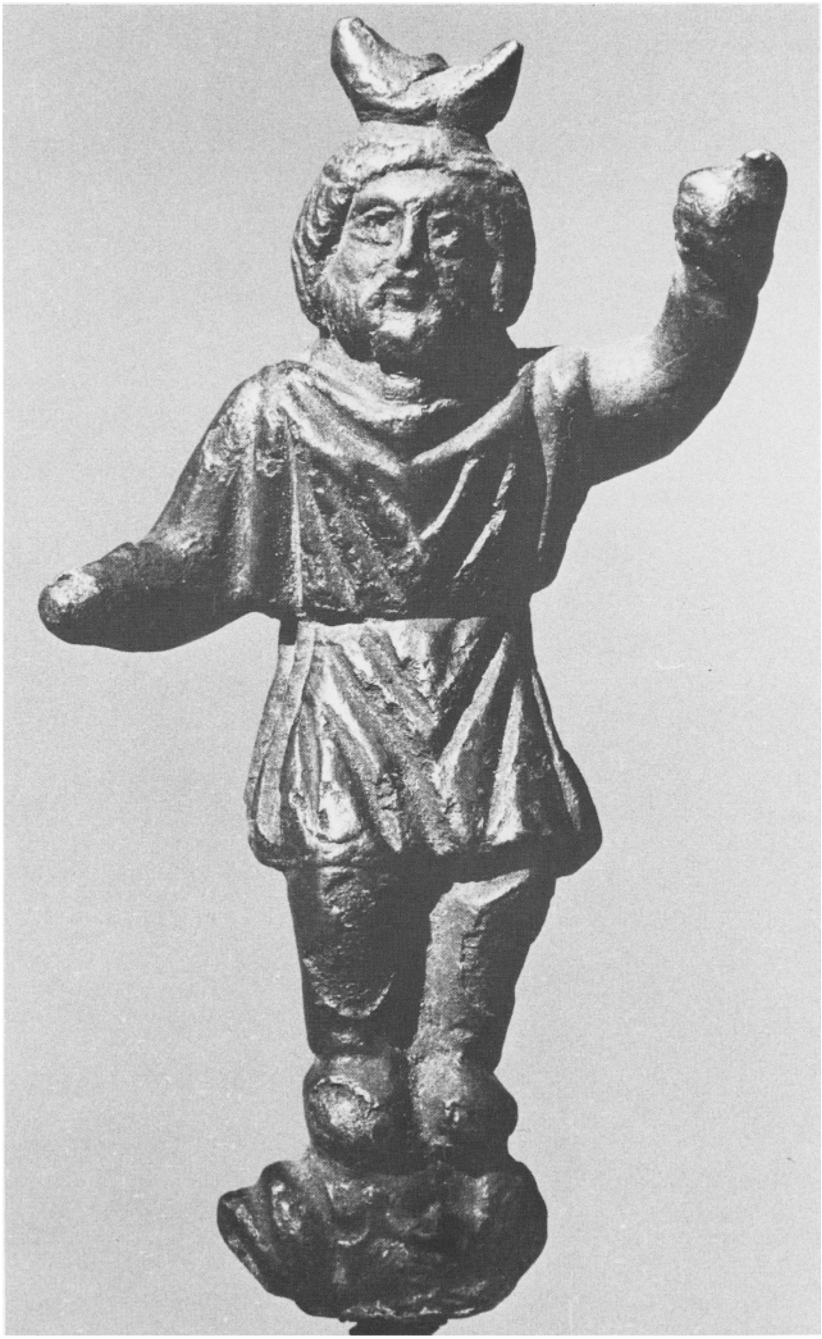

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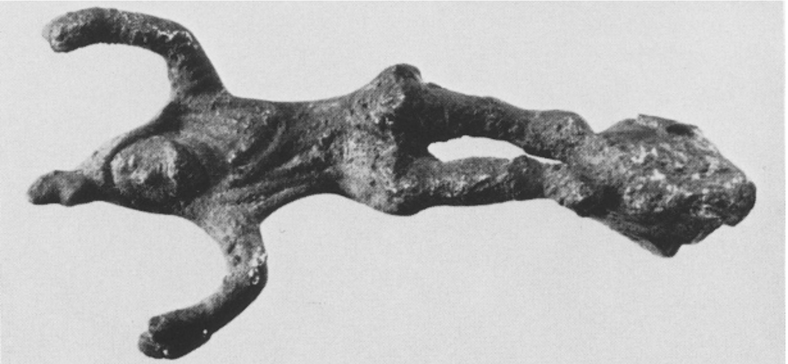
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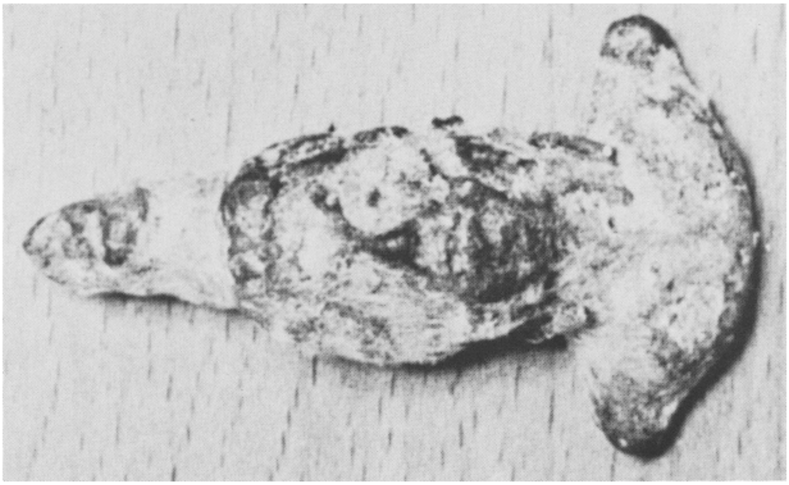
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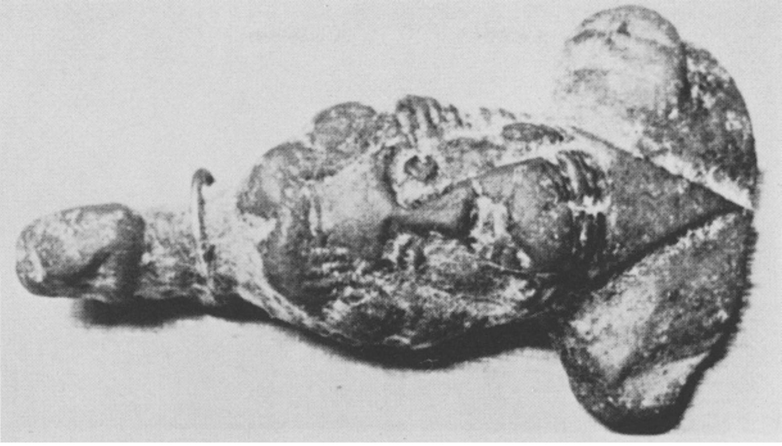
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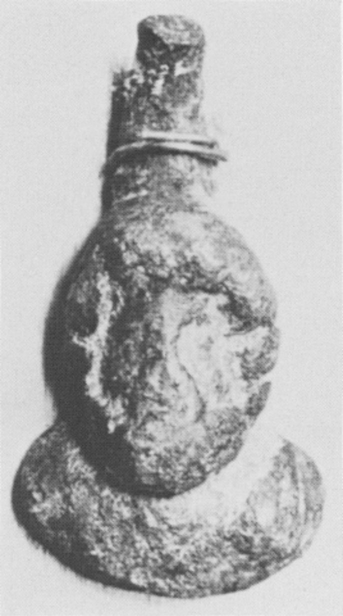

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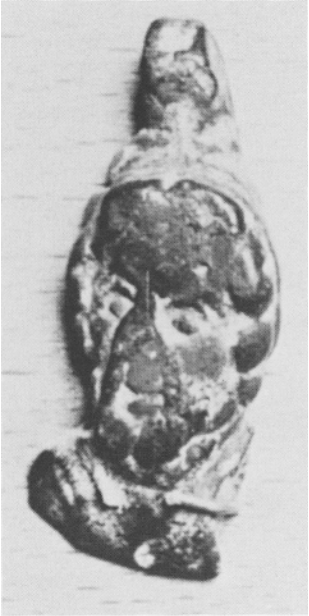

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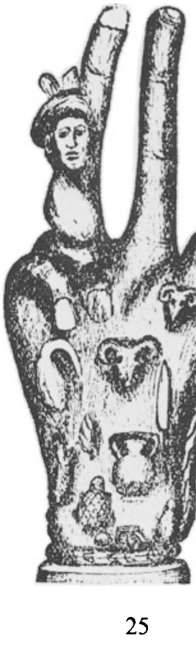

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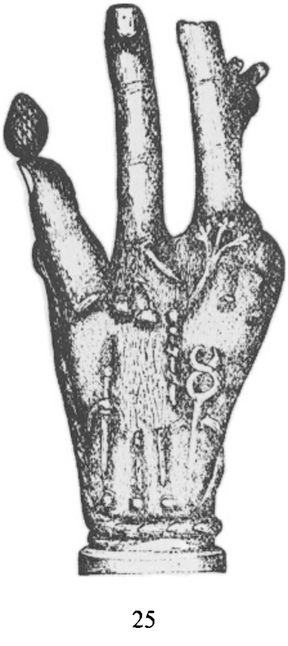

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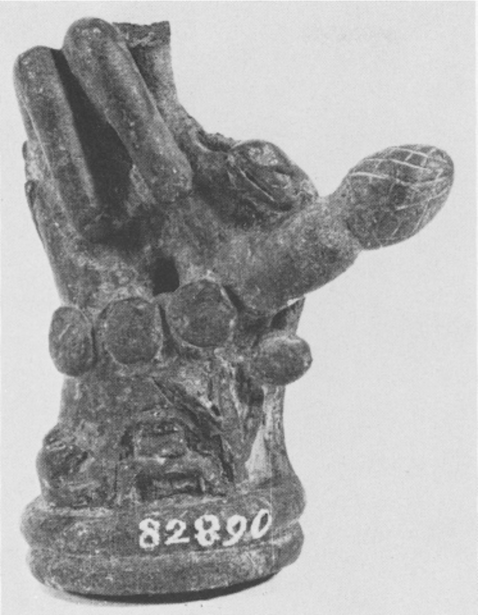

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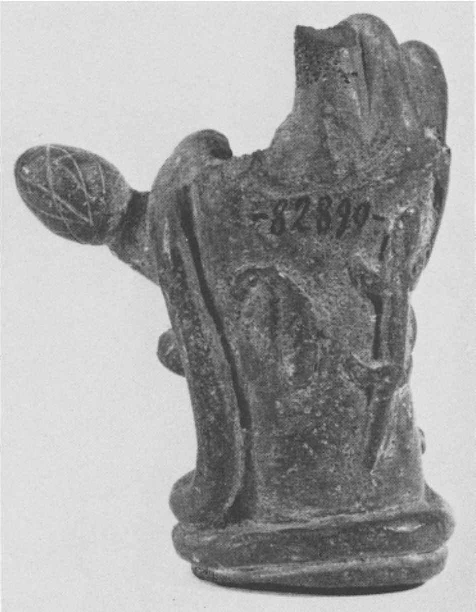

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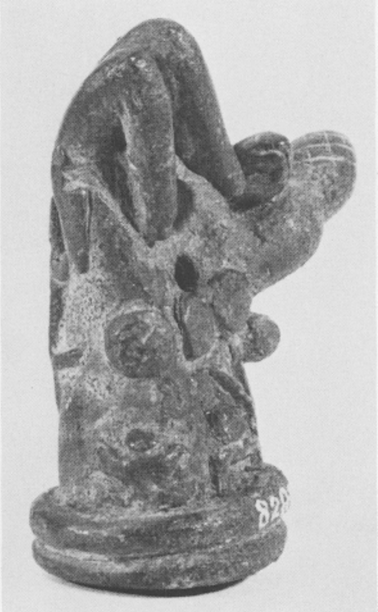

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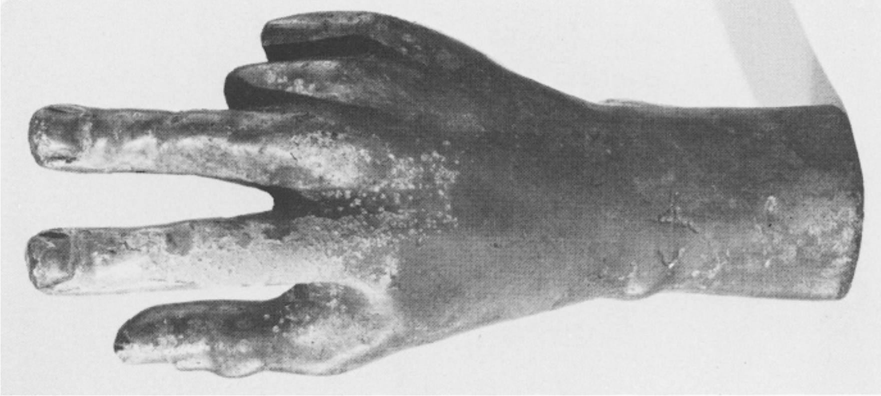

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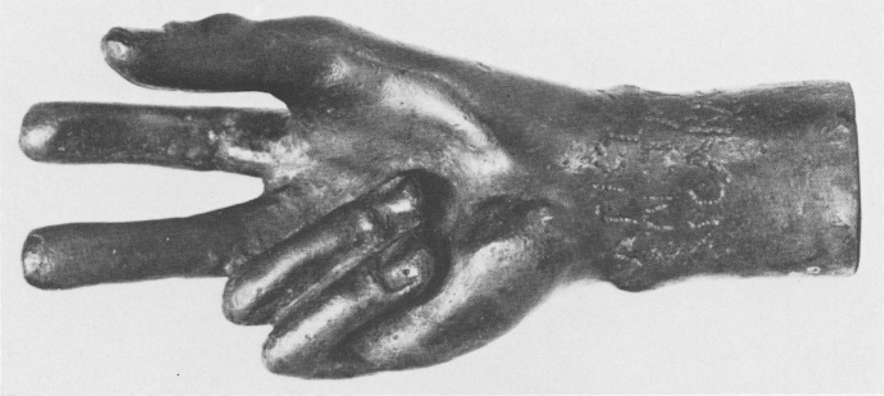

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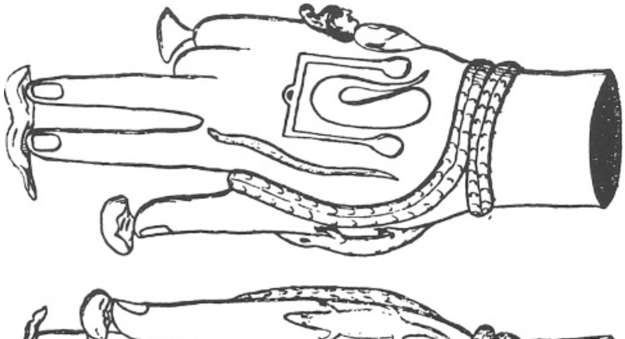

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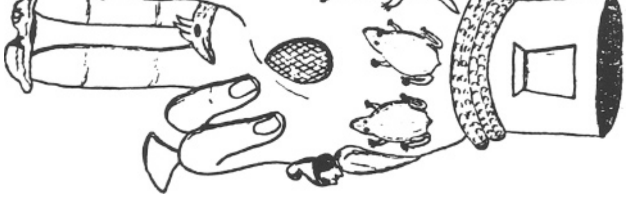

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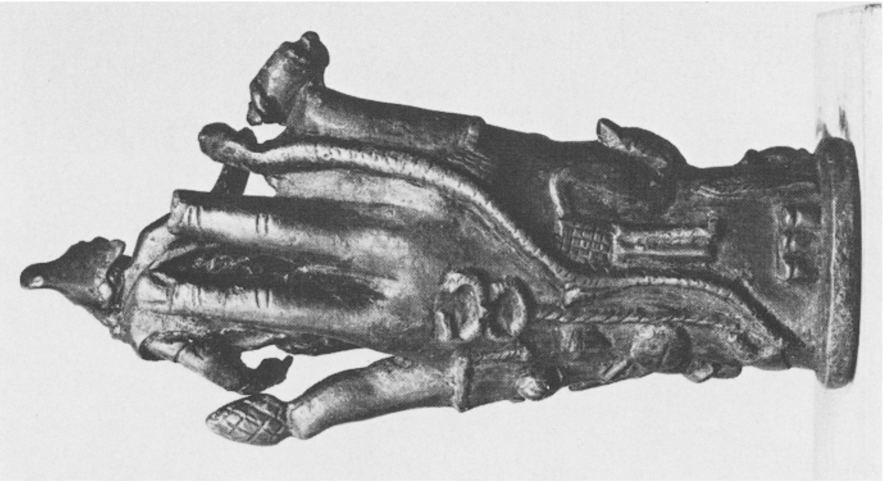

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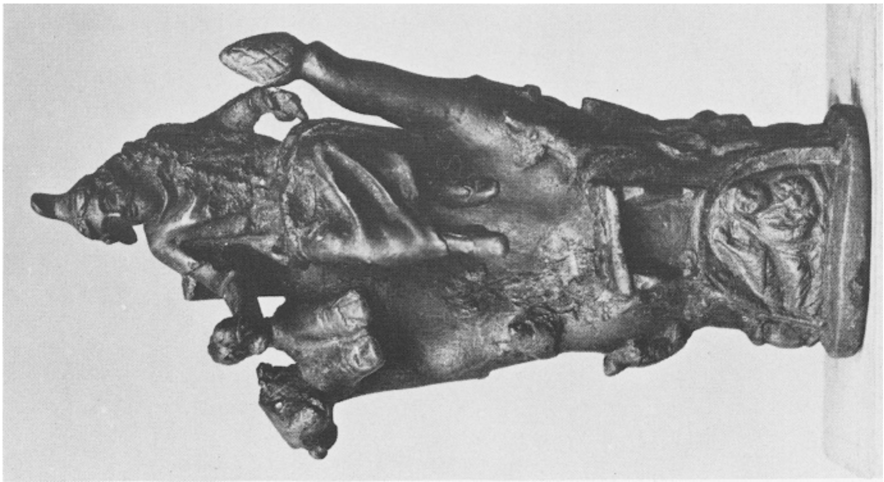

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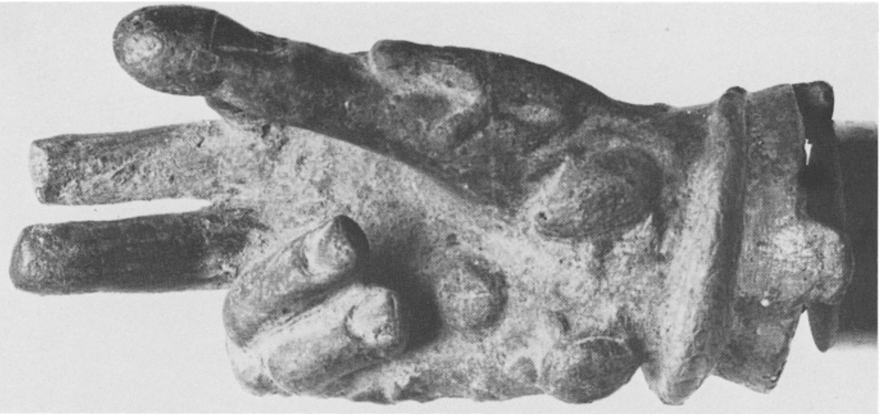
Plate XXVI



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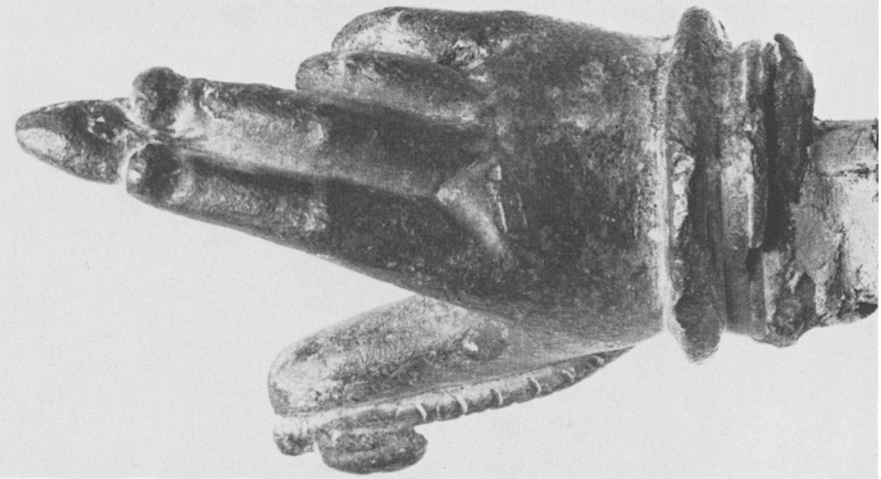

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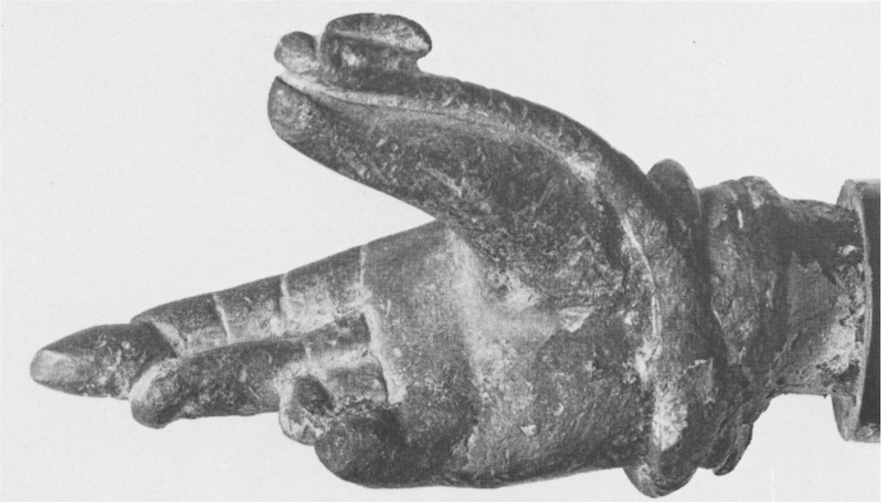

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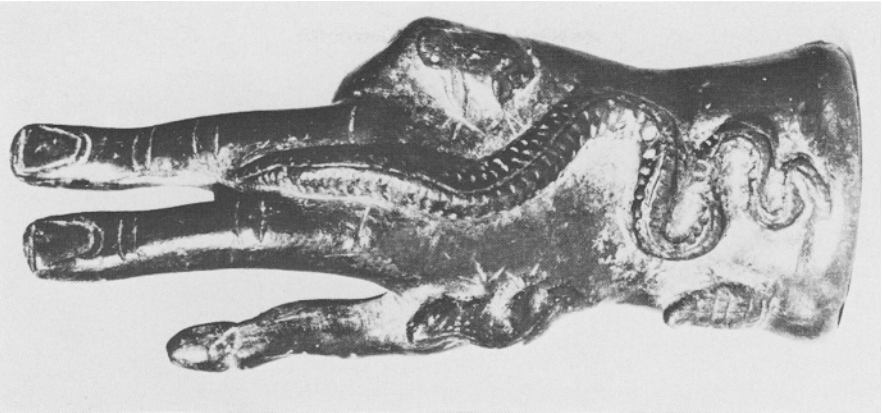
PLATE XXVII



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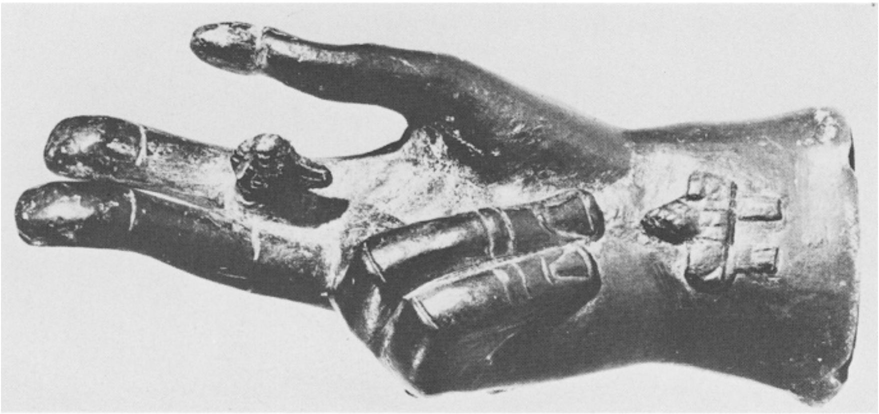

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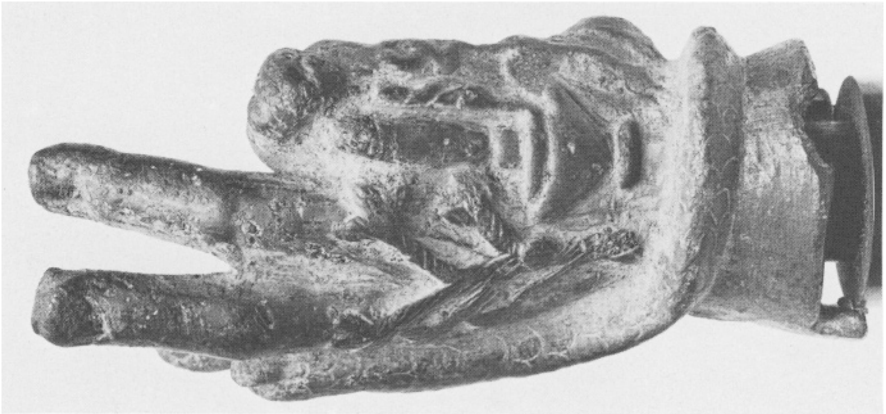

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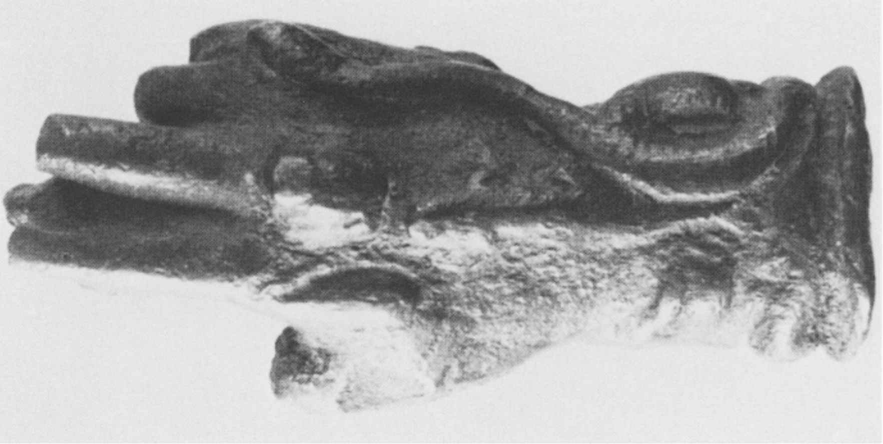
PLATE XXVIII



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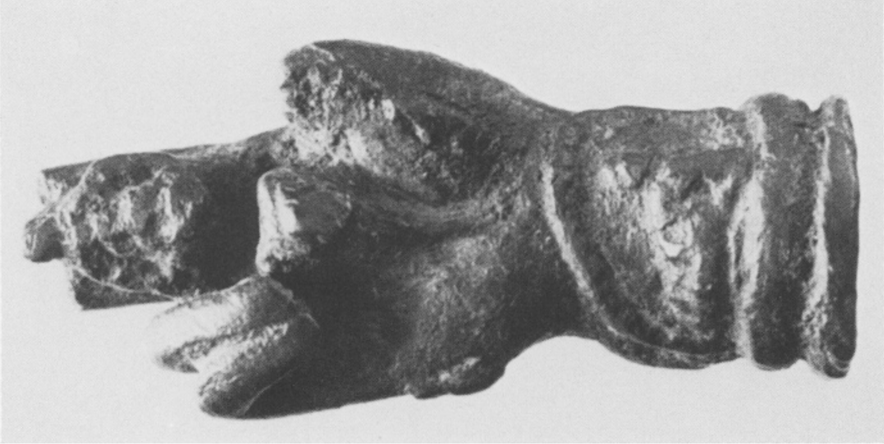

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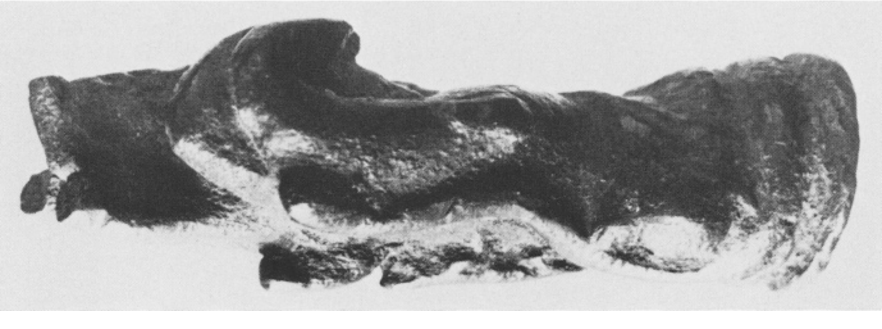

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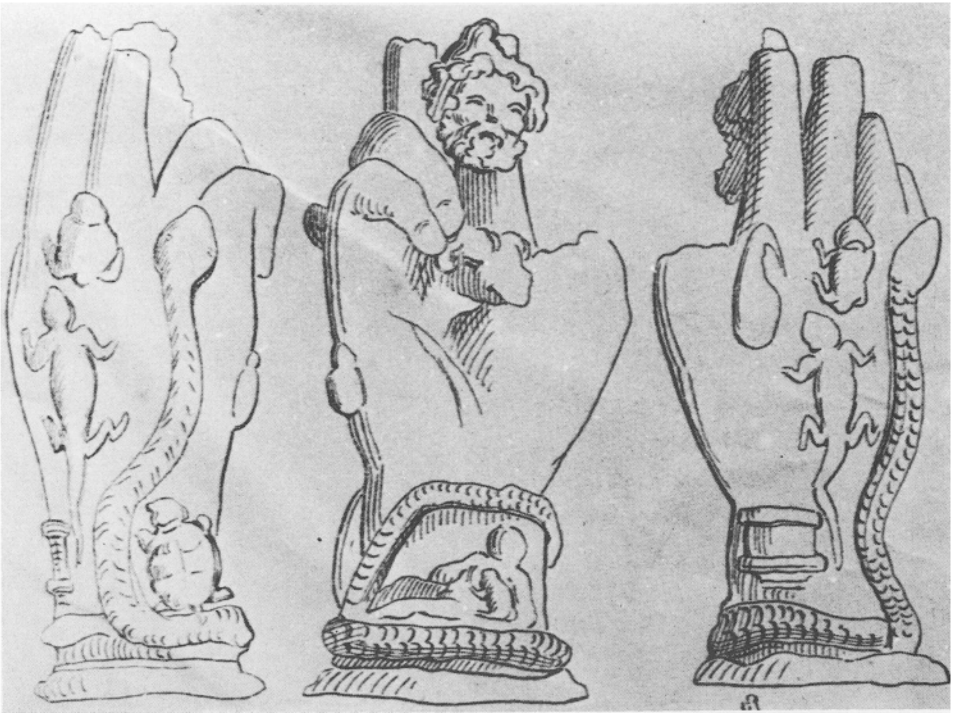

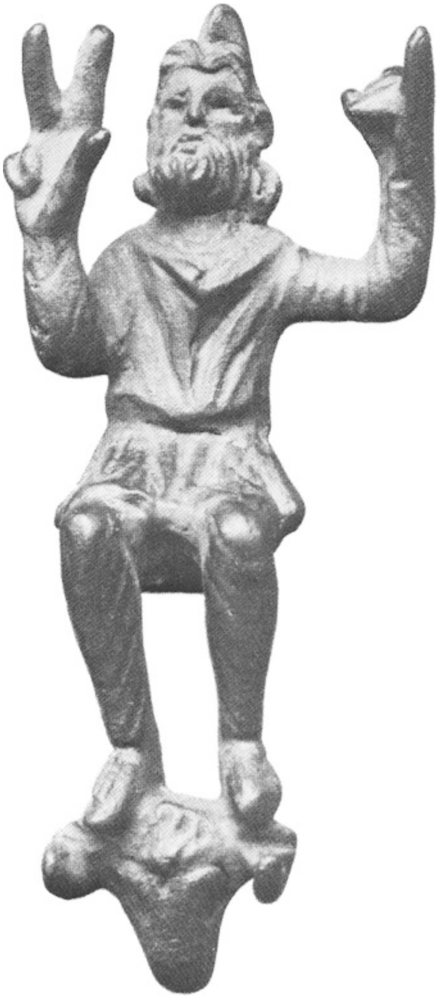

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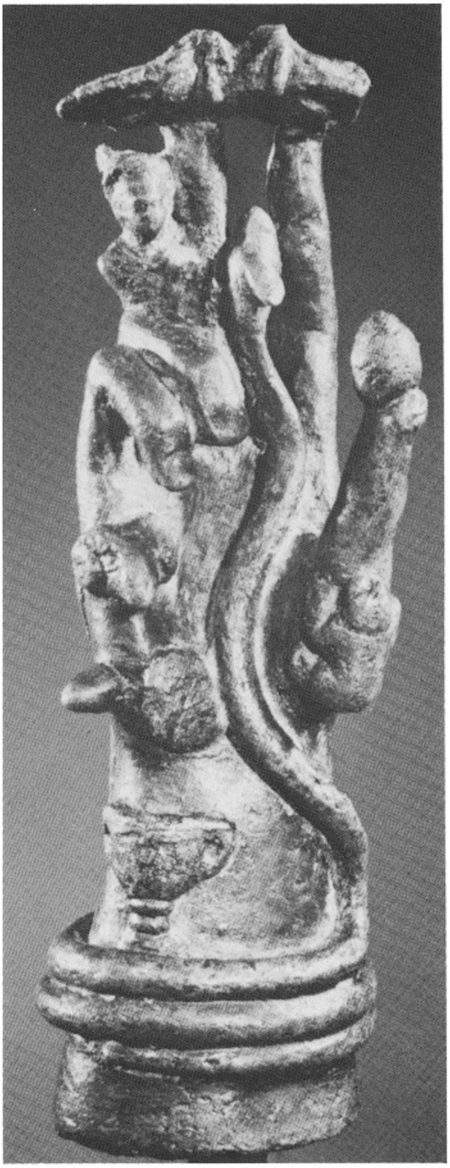

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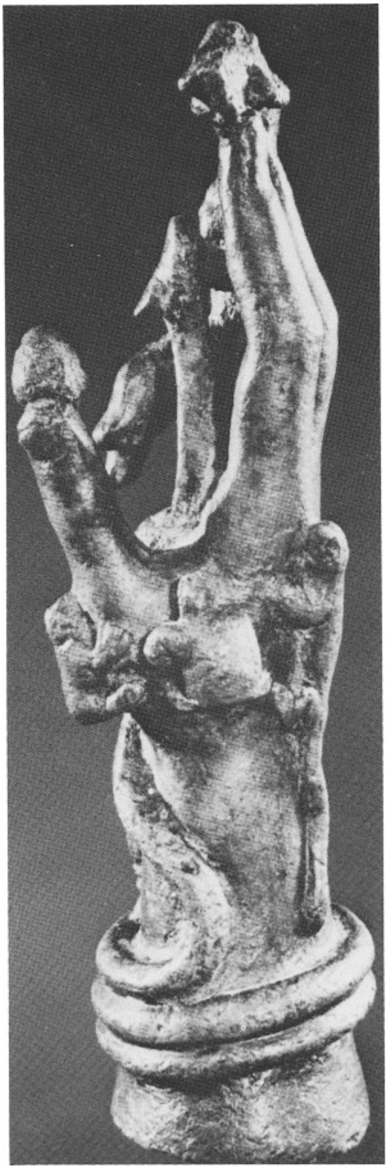

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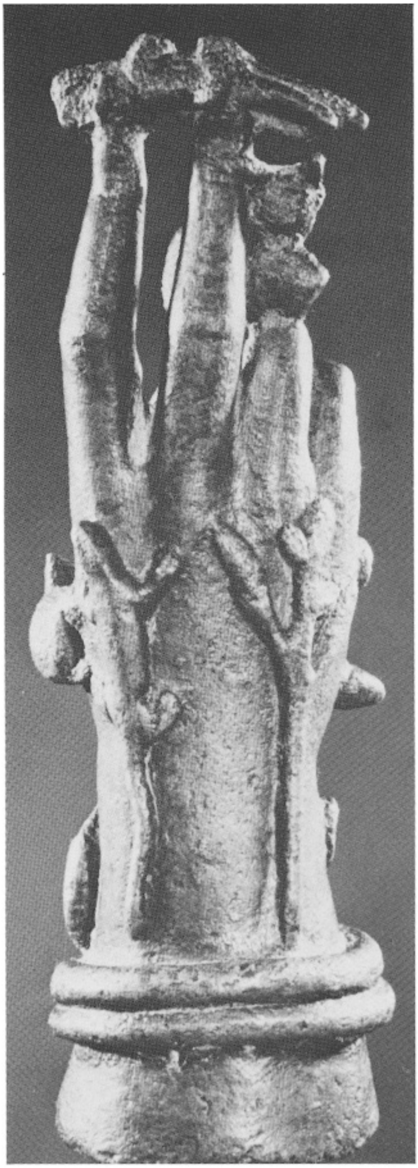
PLATE XXXII



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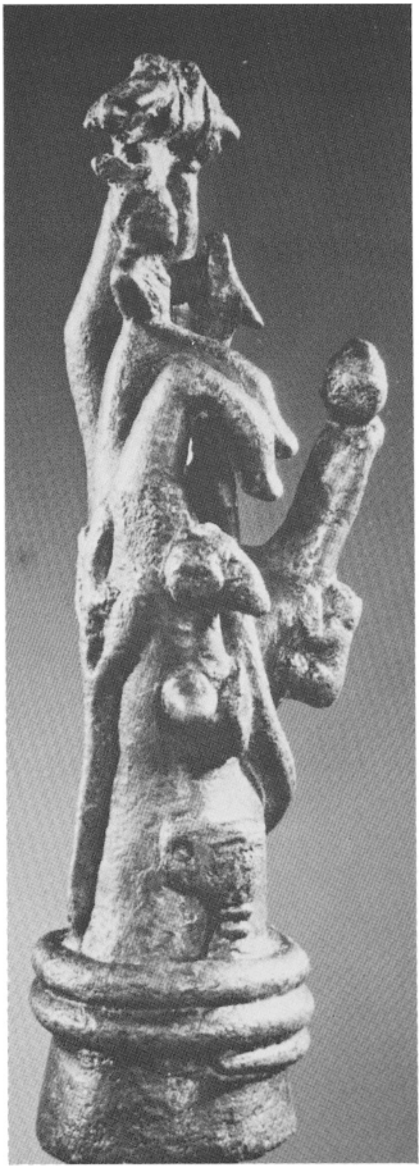

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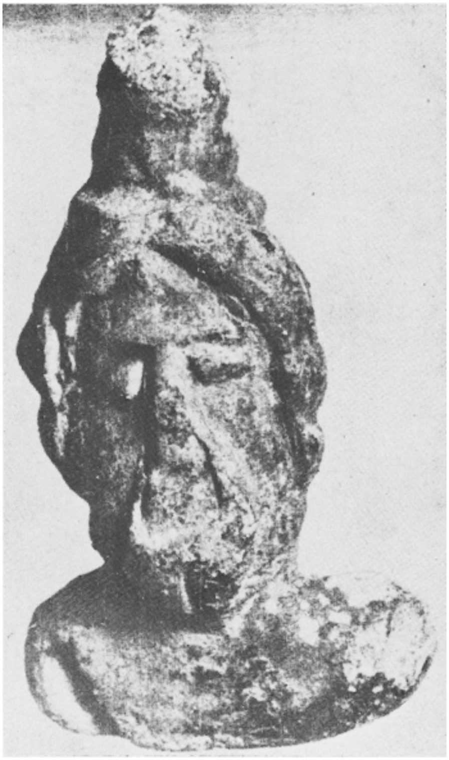

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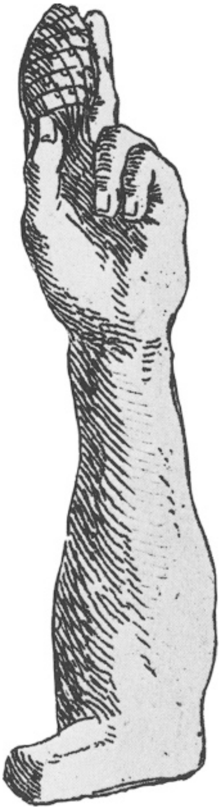

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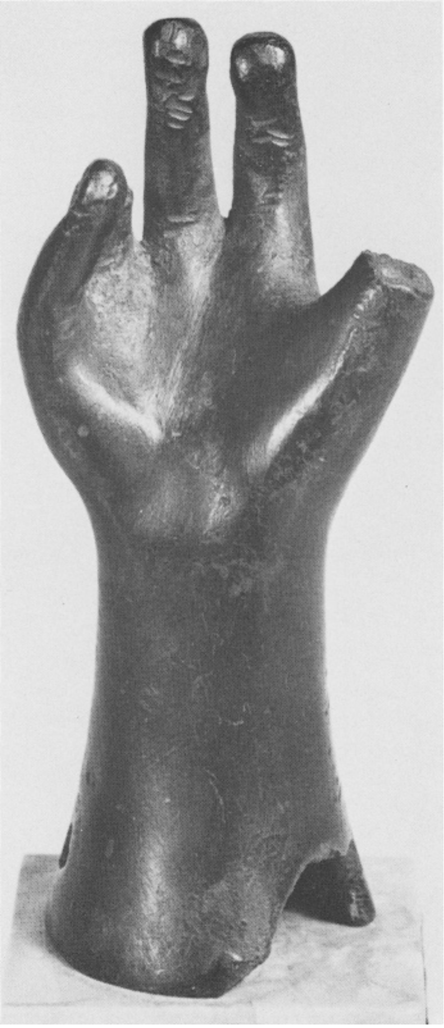

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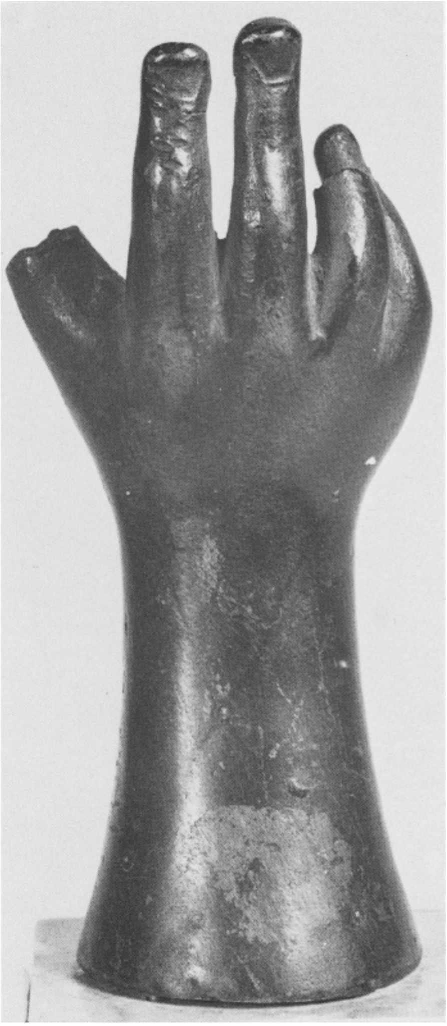

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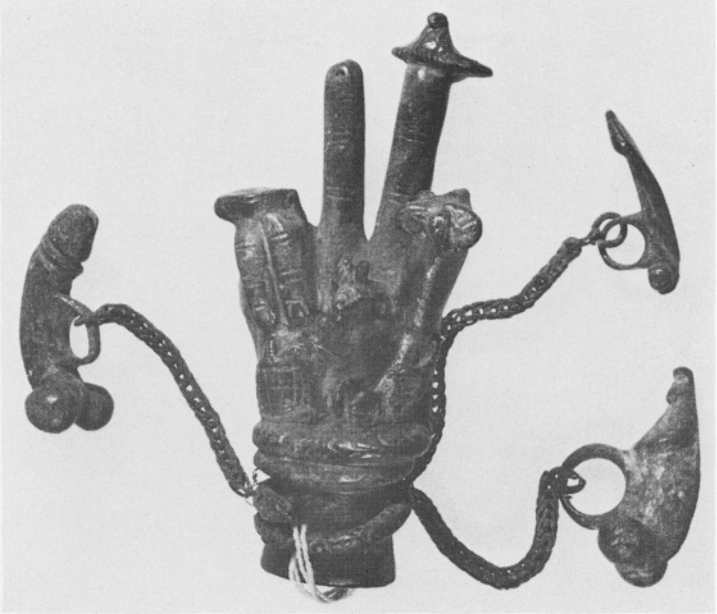

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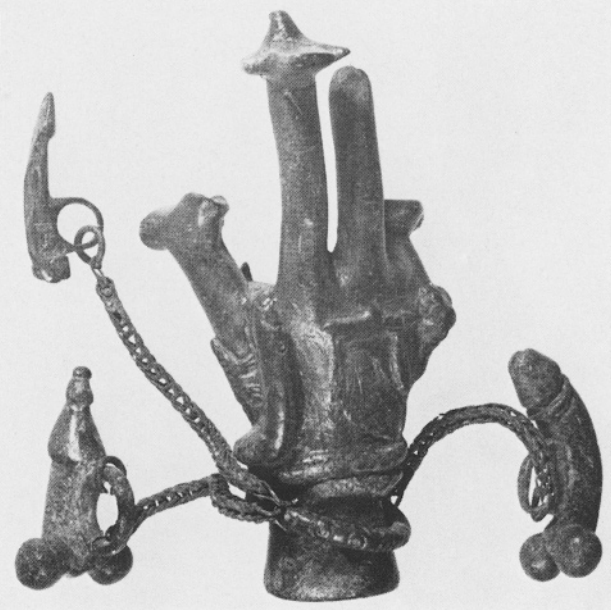

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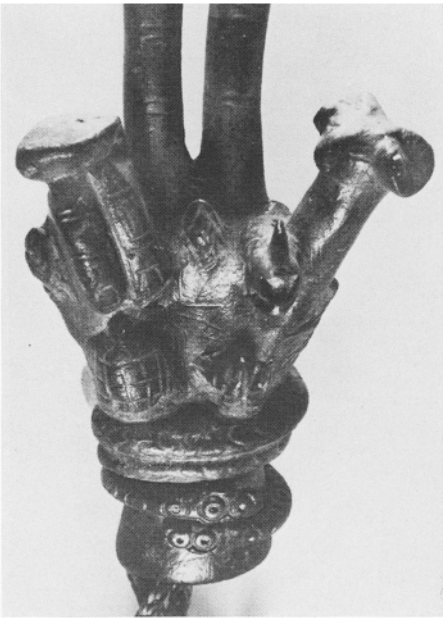
Plate XXXVI



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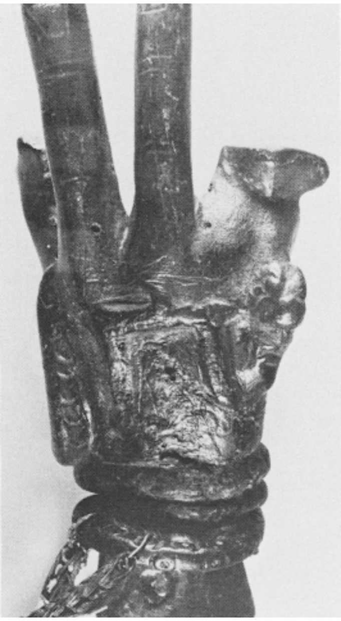

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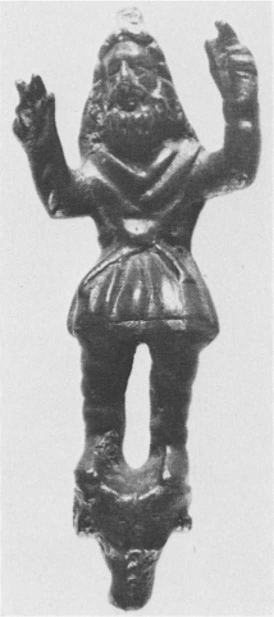

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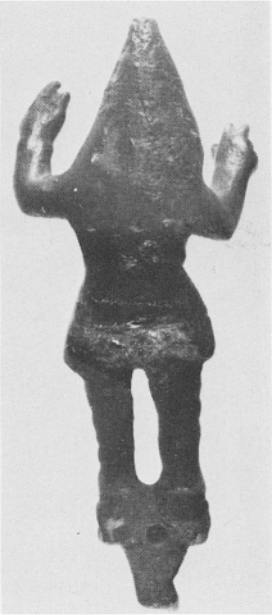

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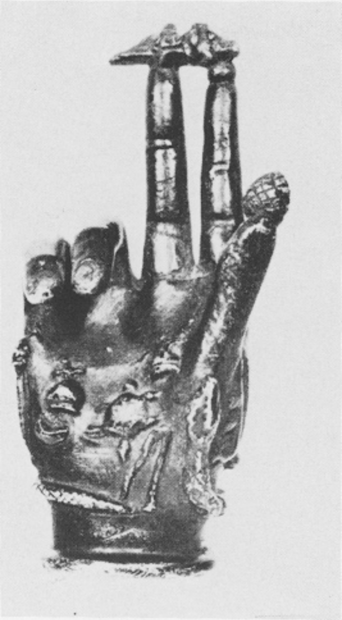

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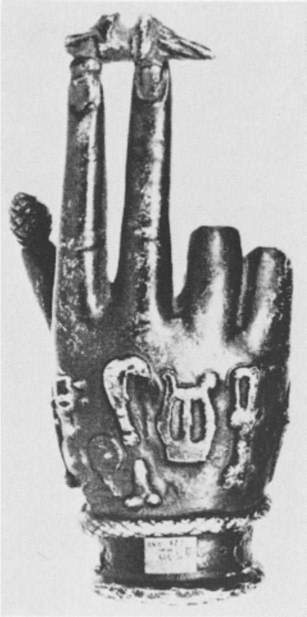

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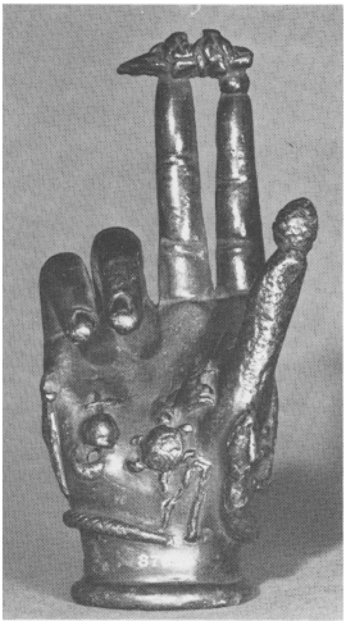

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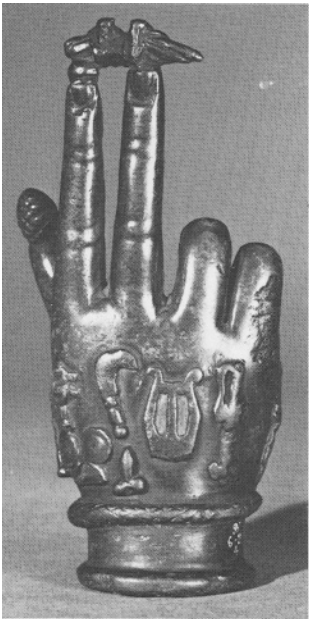
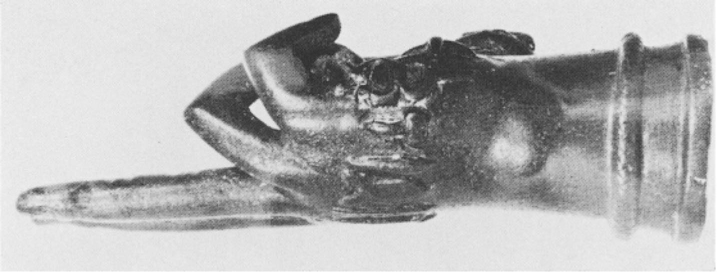


44

(London, British Museum)

Plate XXXVIII



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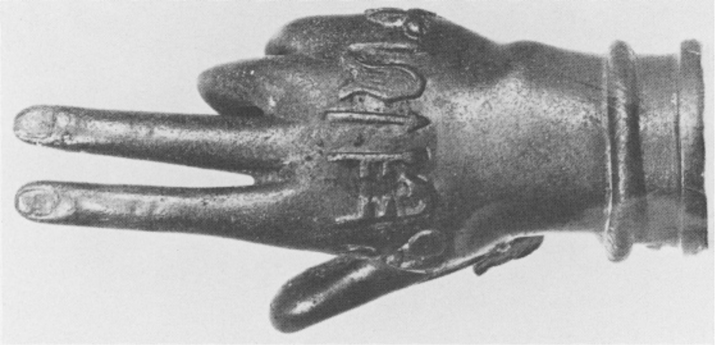

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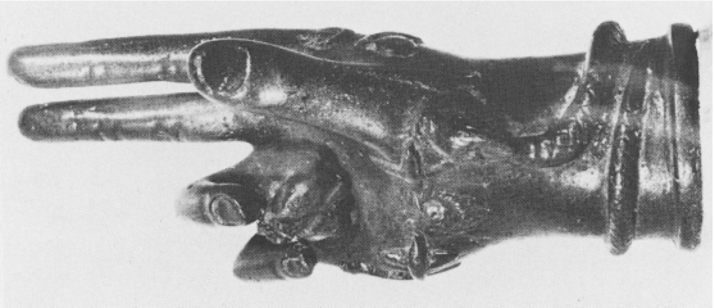

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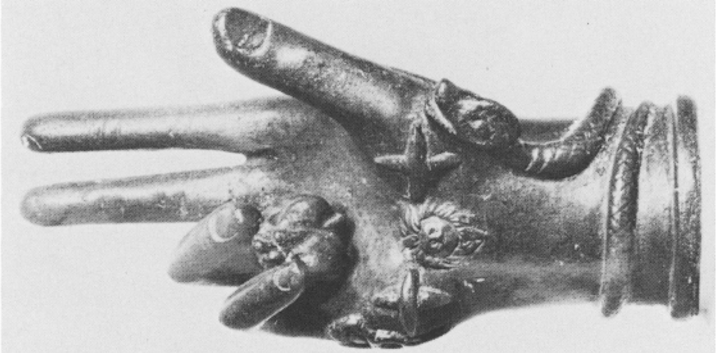

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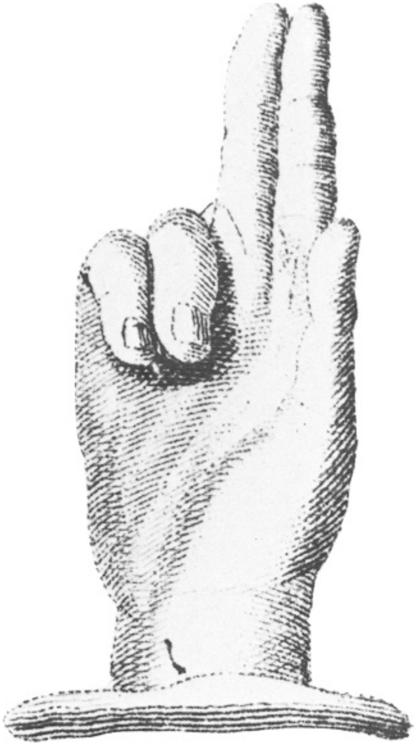

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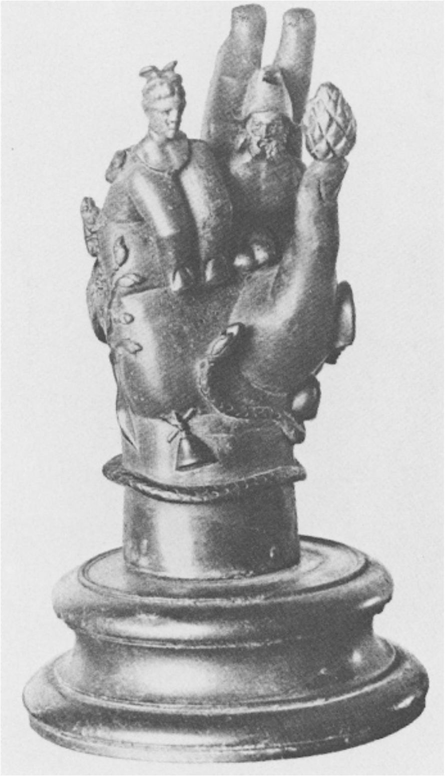

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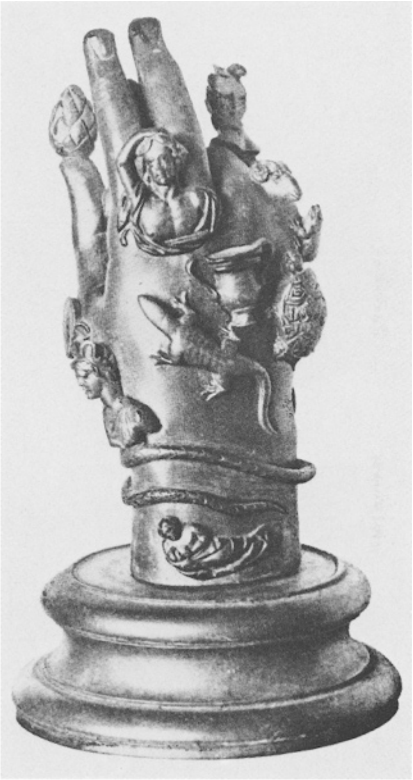

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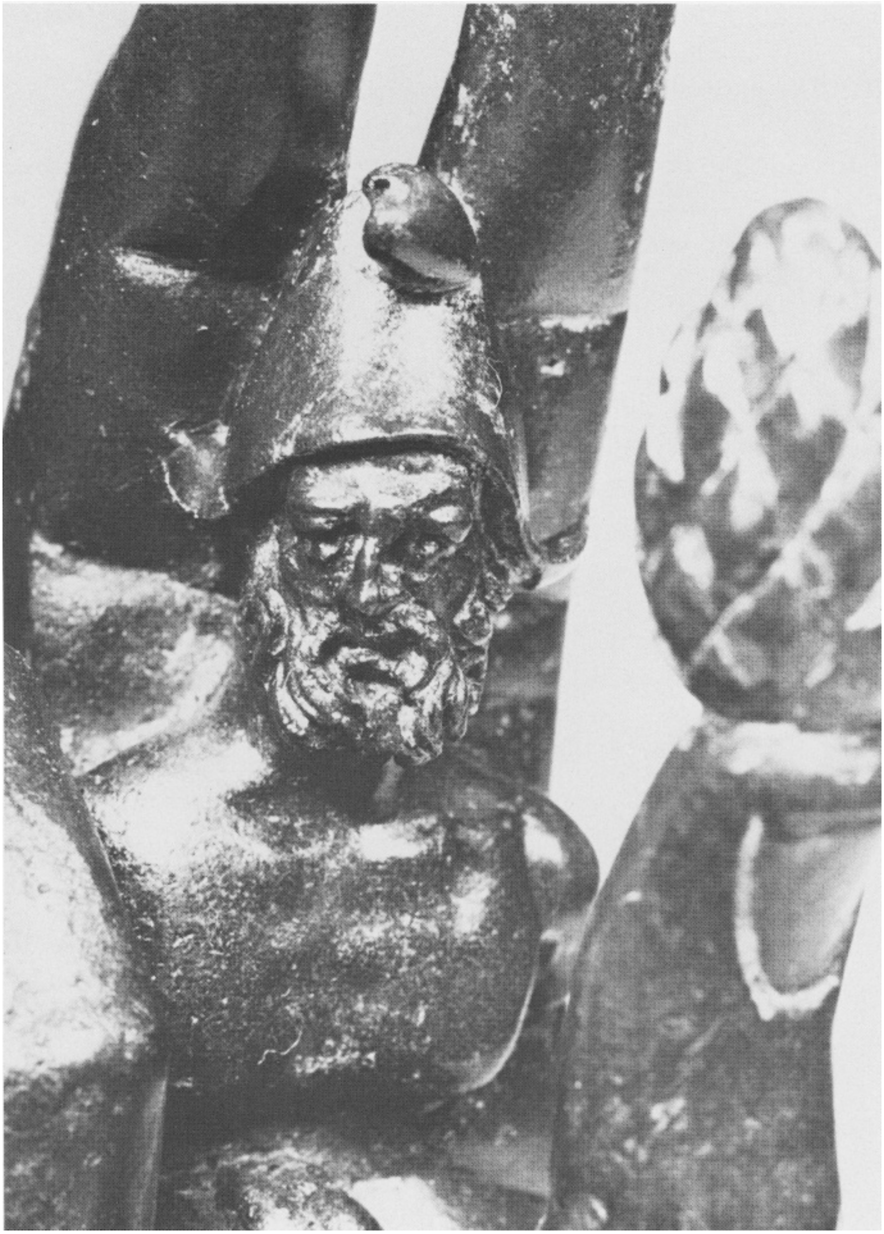
Plate XL



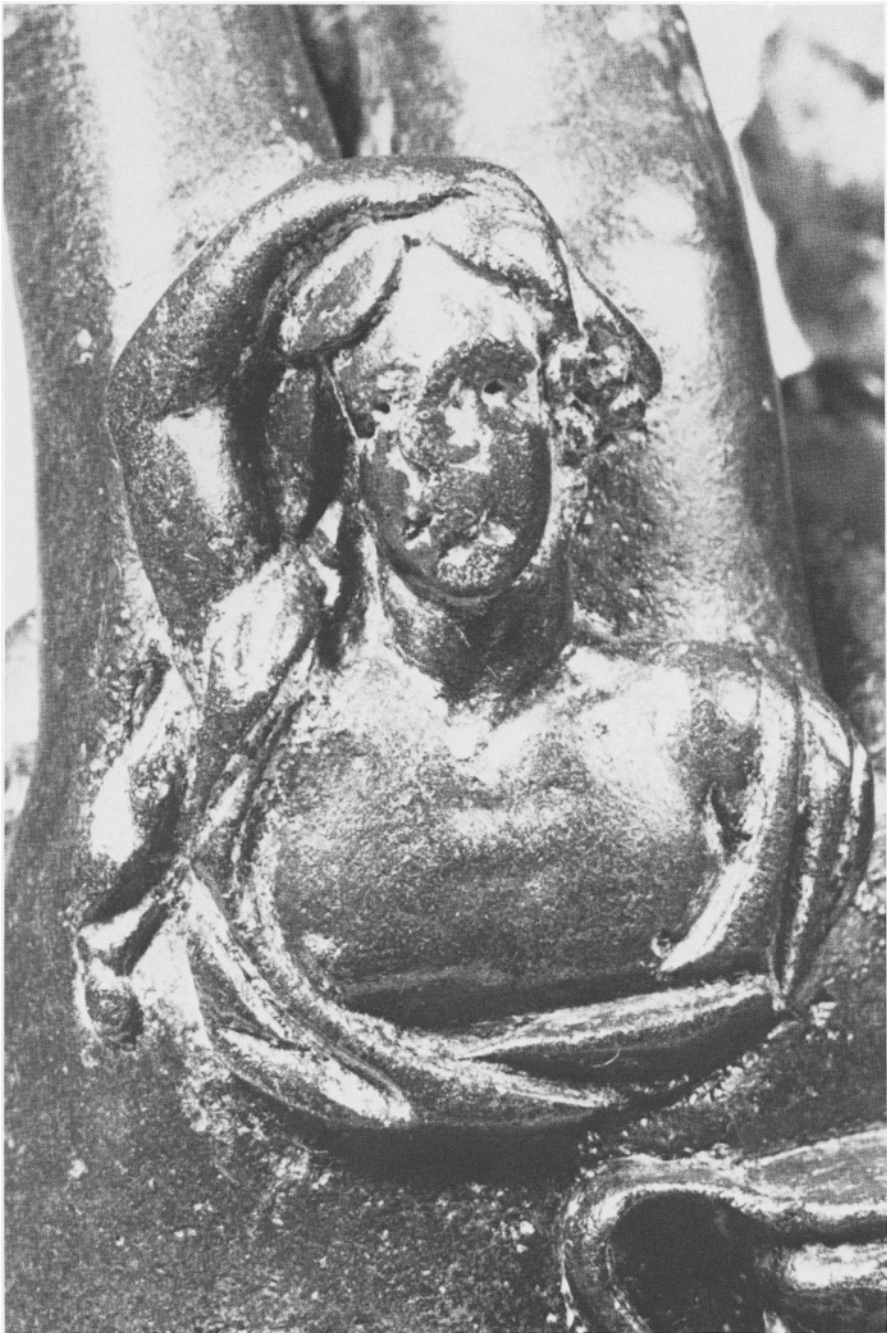
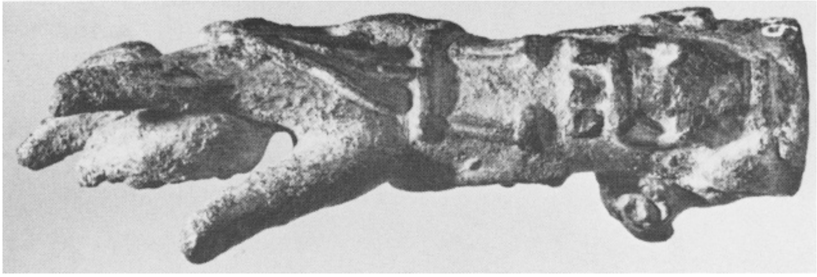


PLATE XLII



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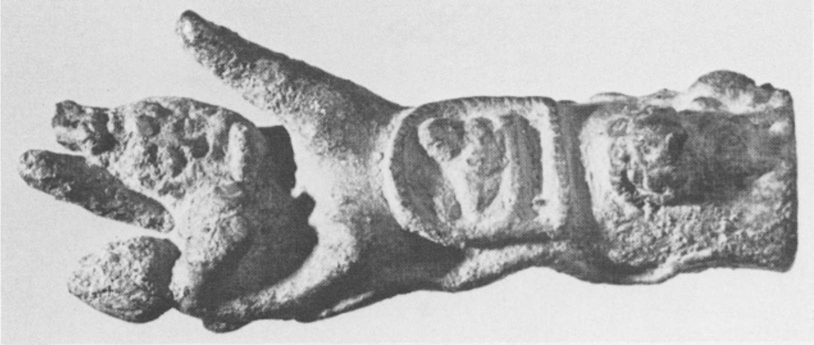

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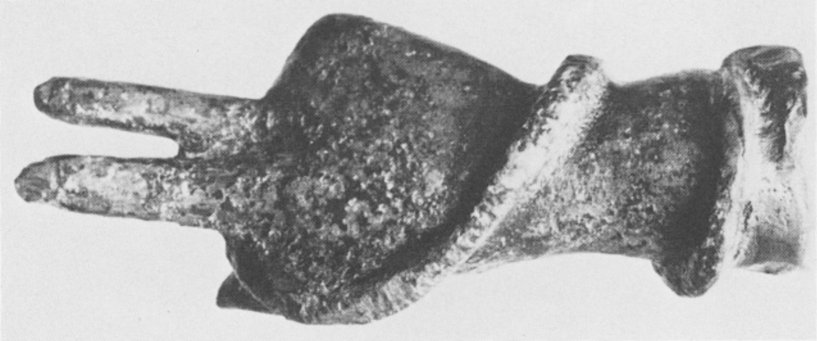

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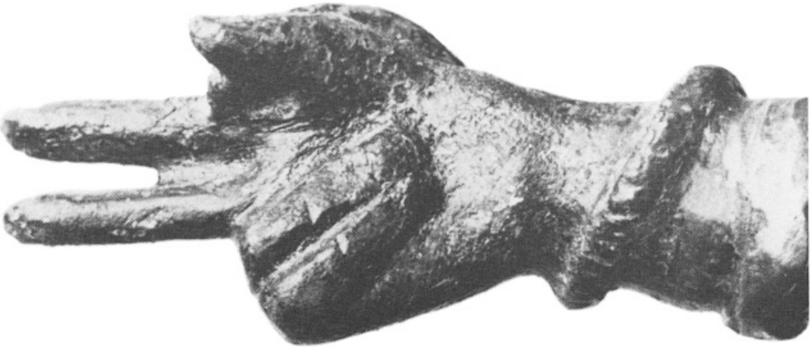

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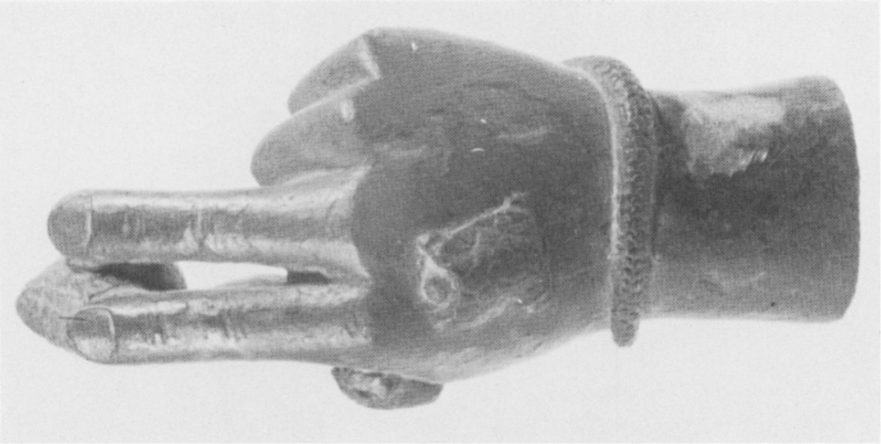
PLATE XLIII



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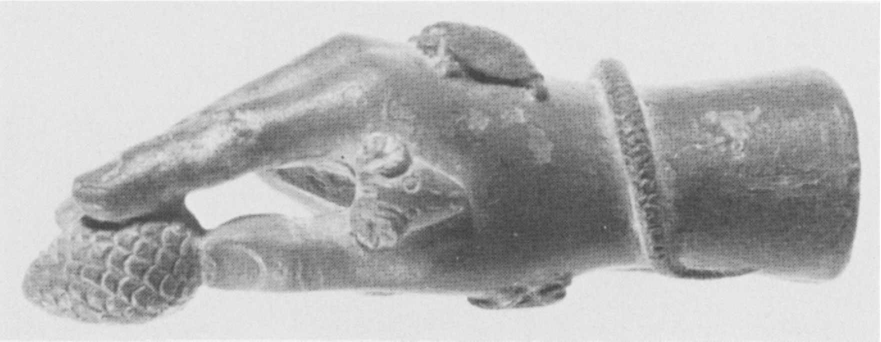

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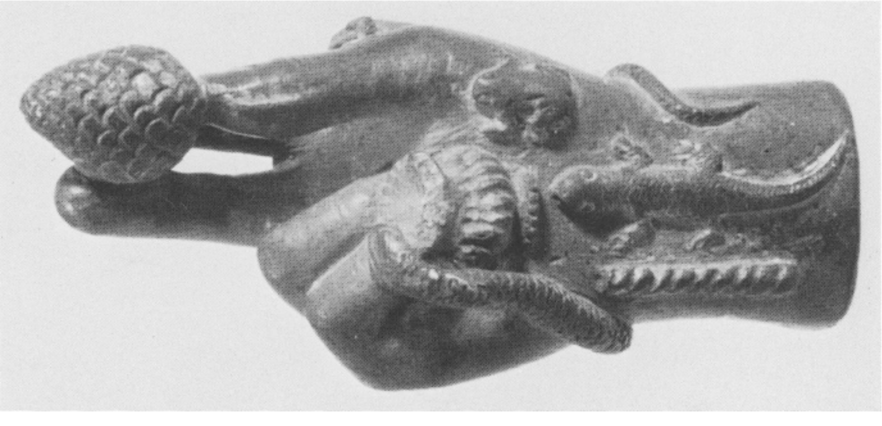

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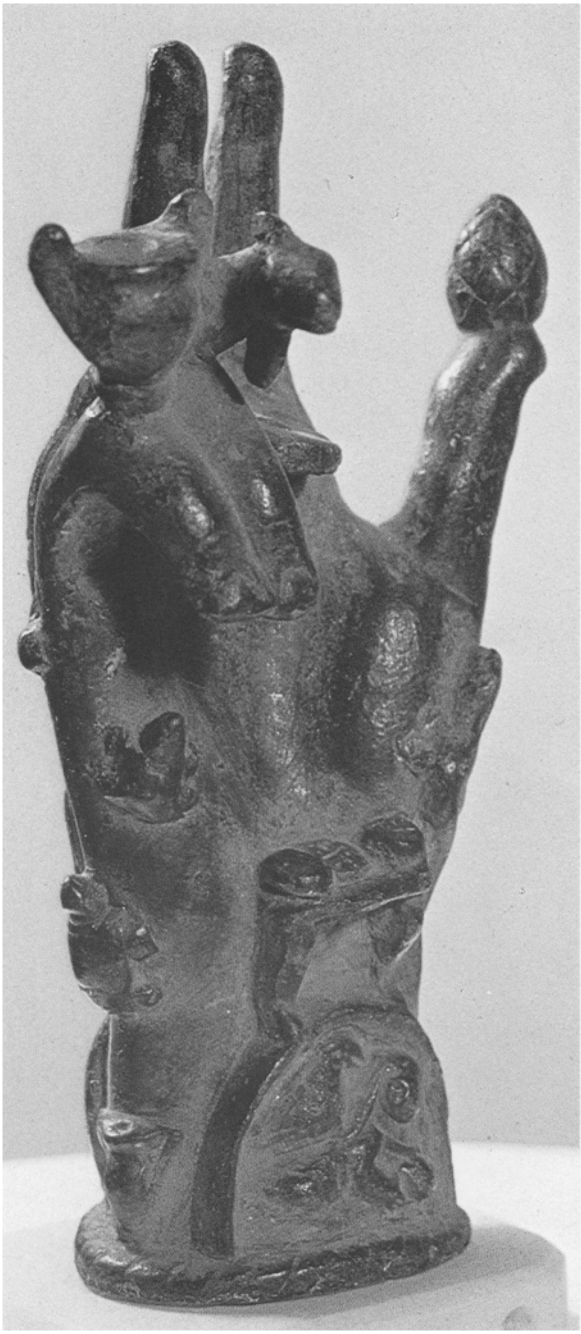

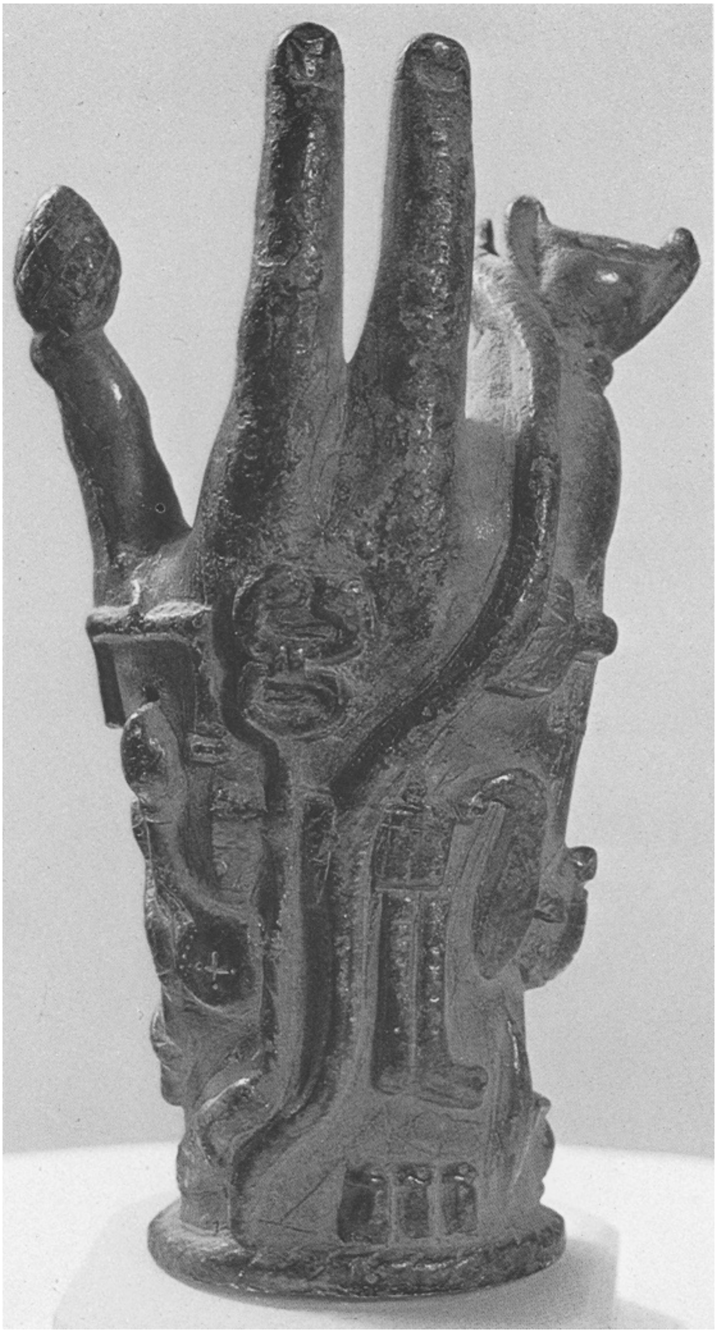

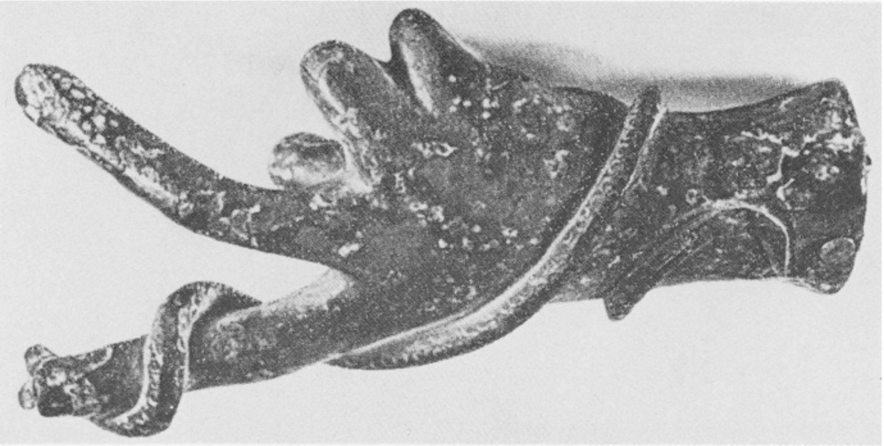

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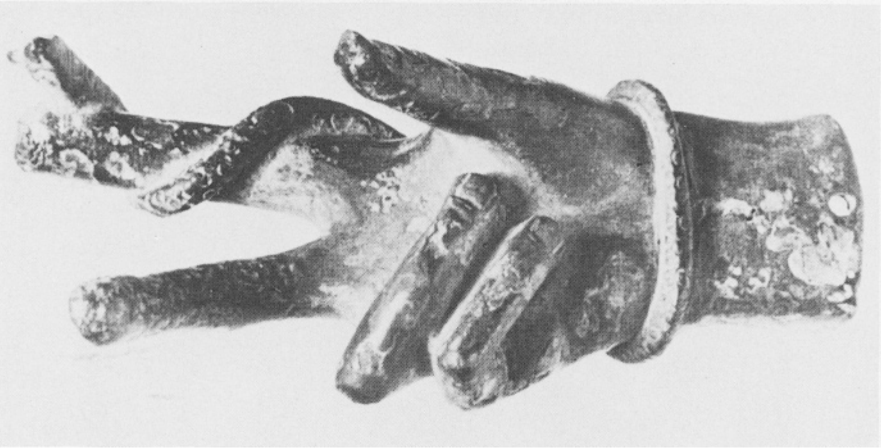

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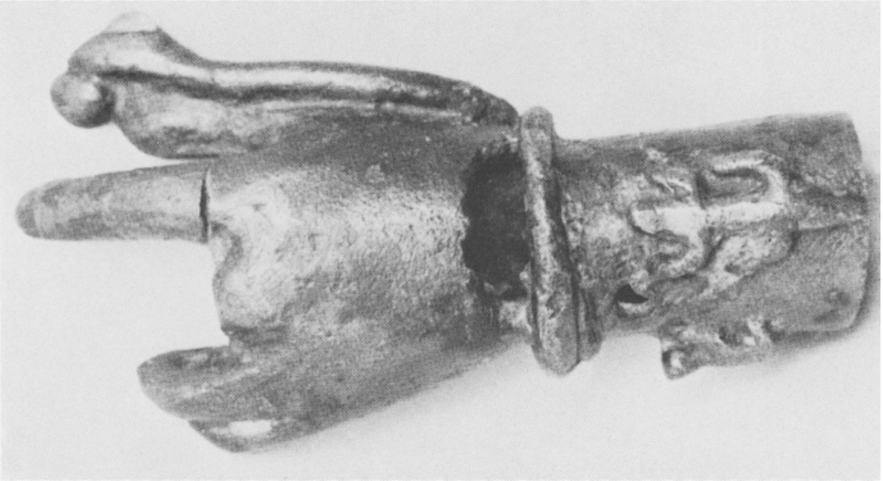

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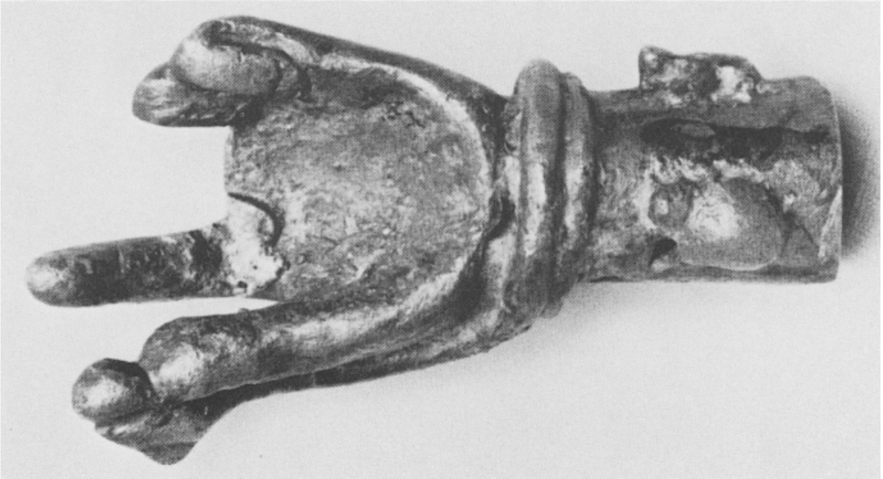

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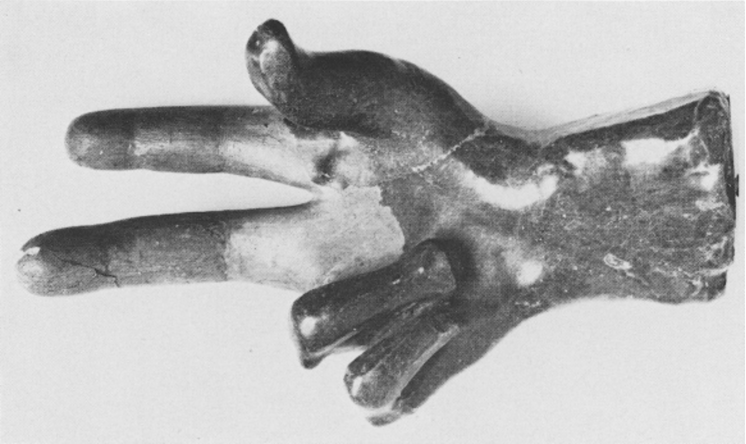
PLATE XLVIII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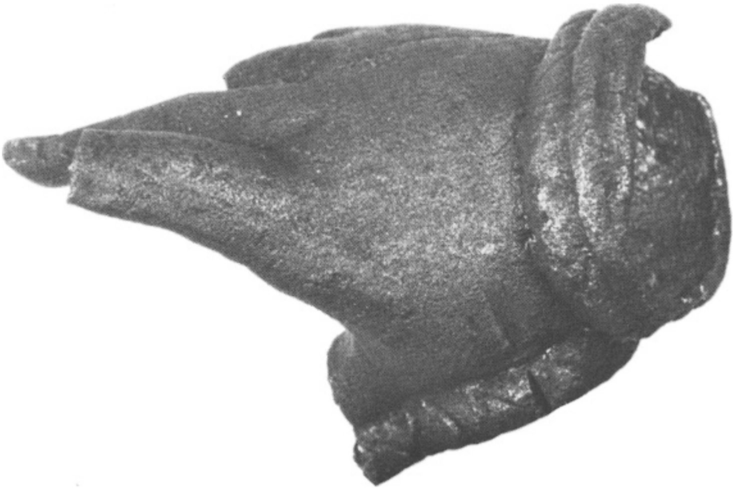
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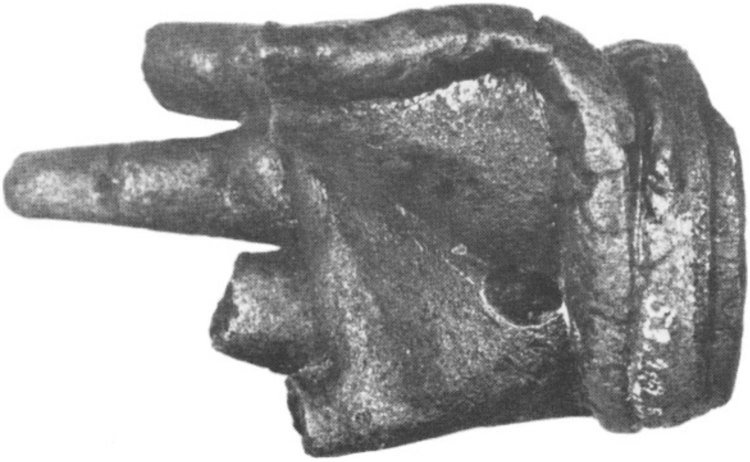
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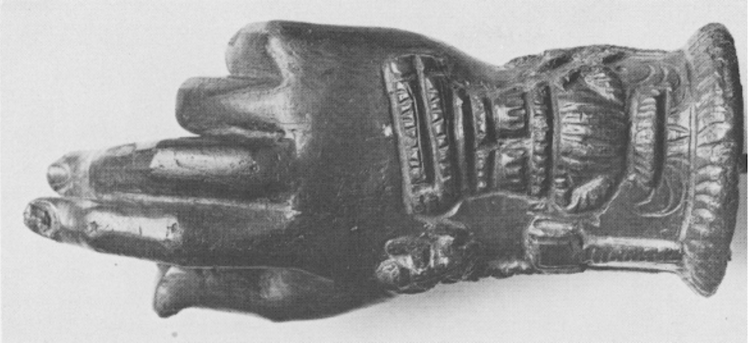

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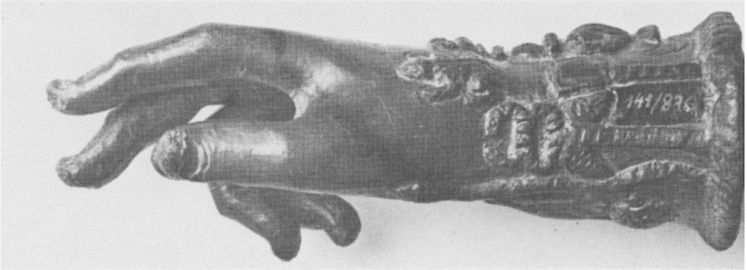

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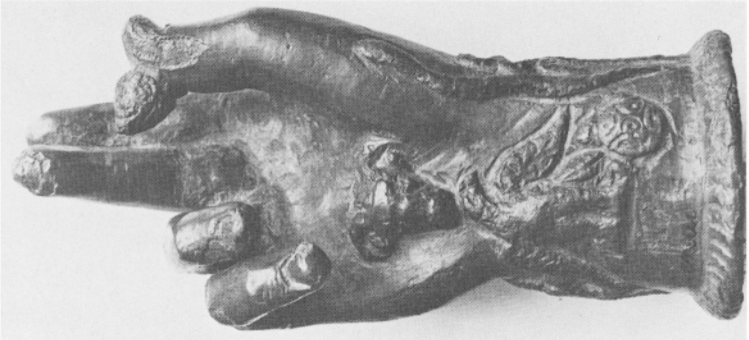

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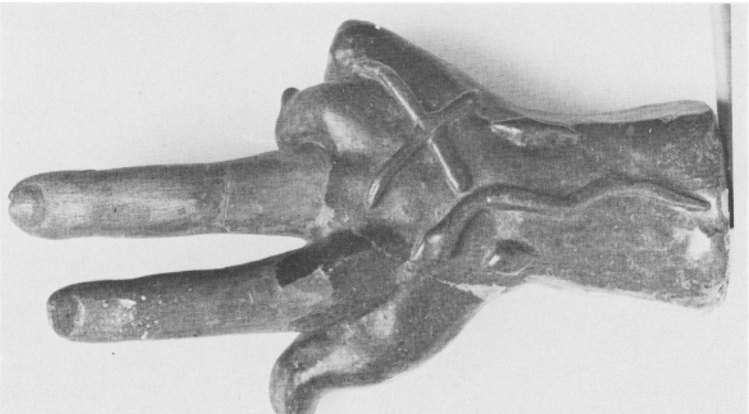

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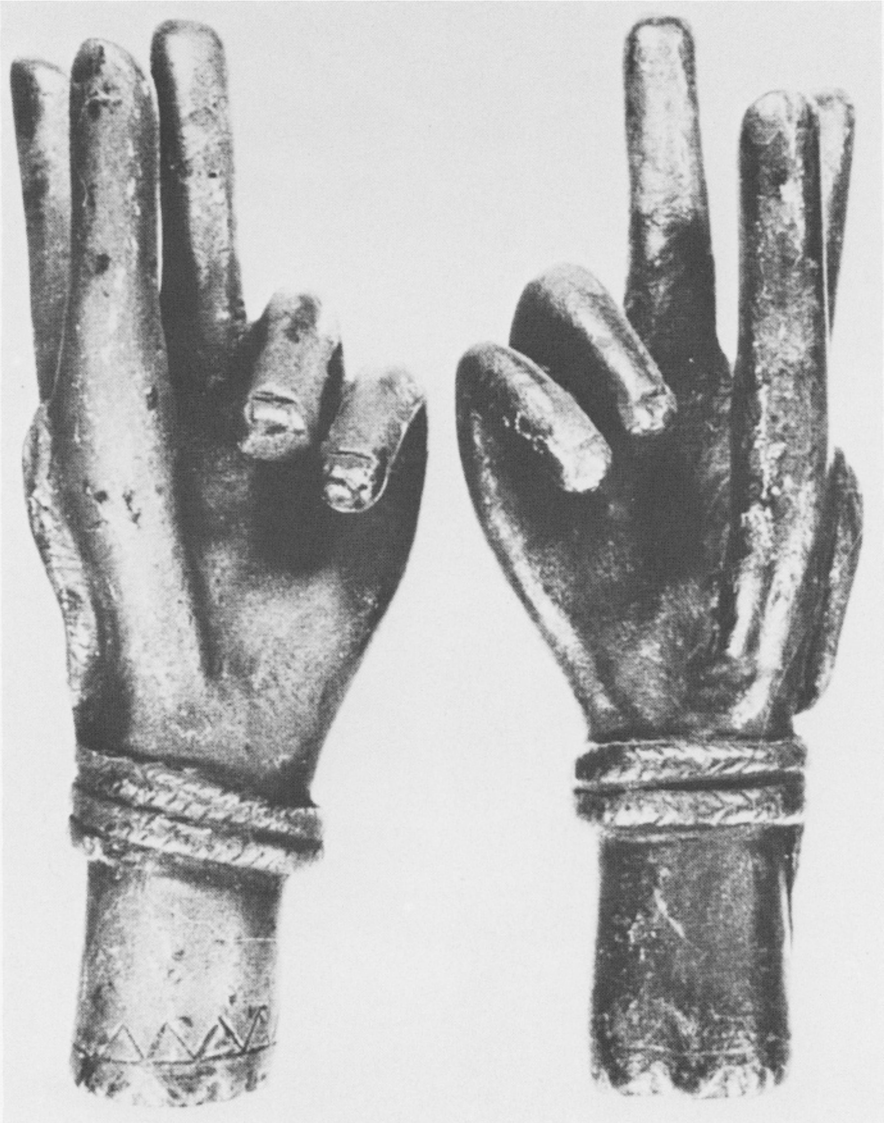
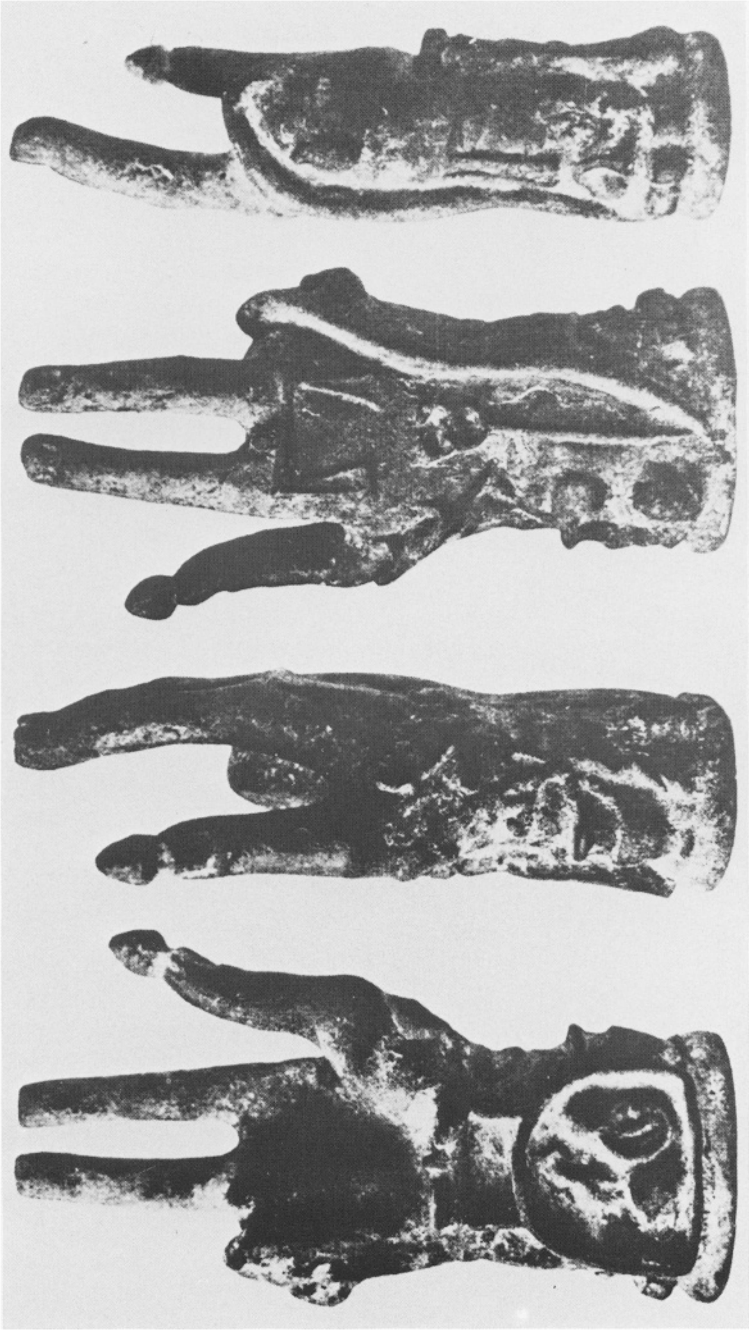


PLATE LI



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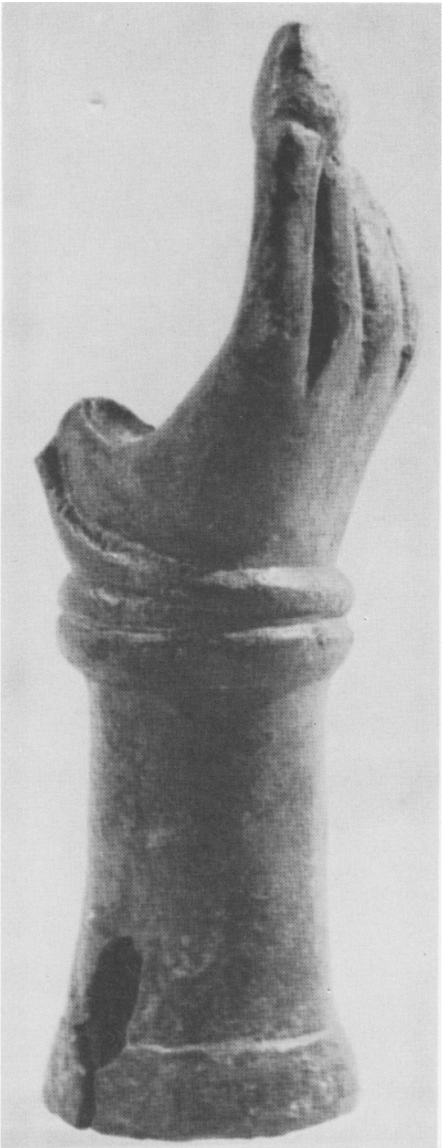

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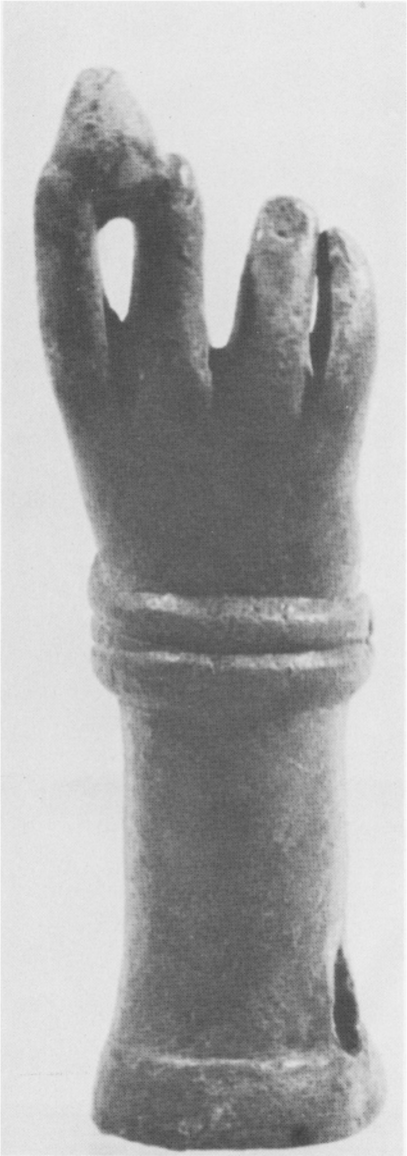

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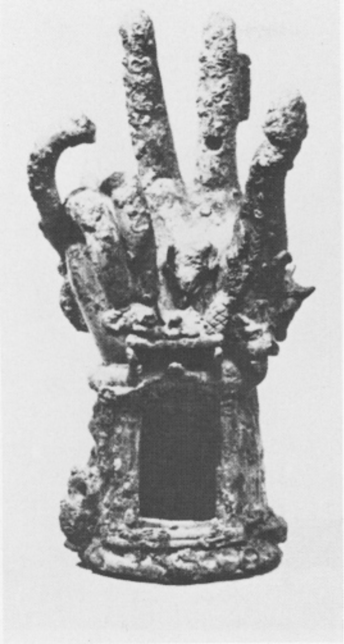
PLATE LIII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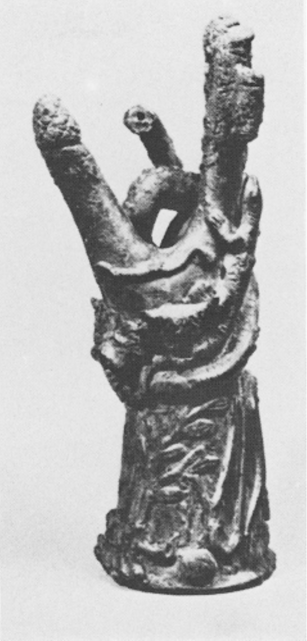
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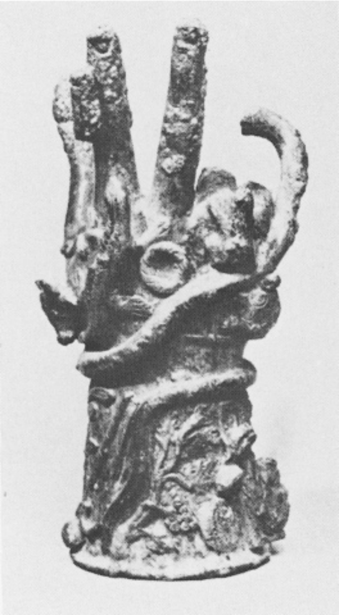
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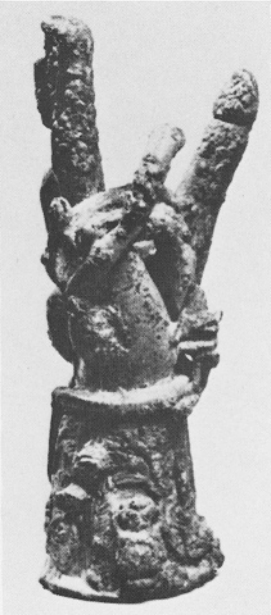
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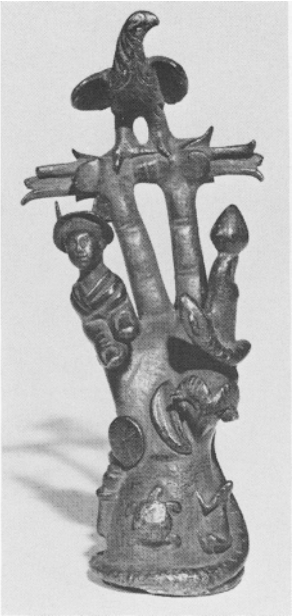

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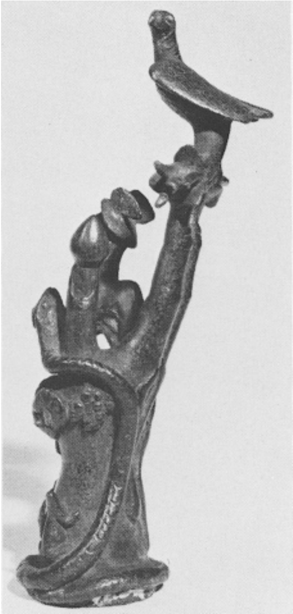

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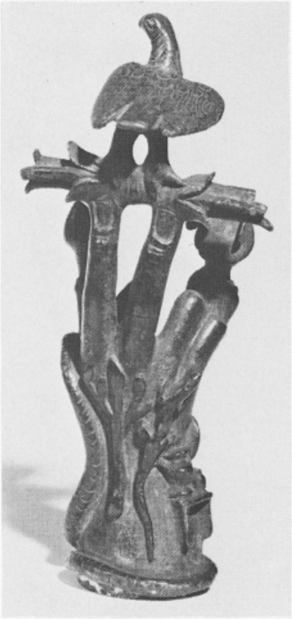

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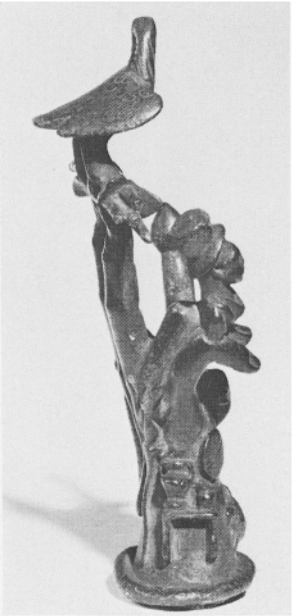

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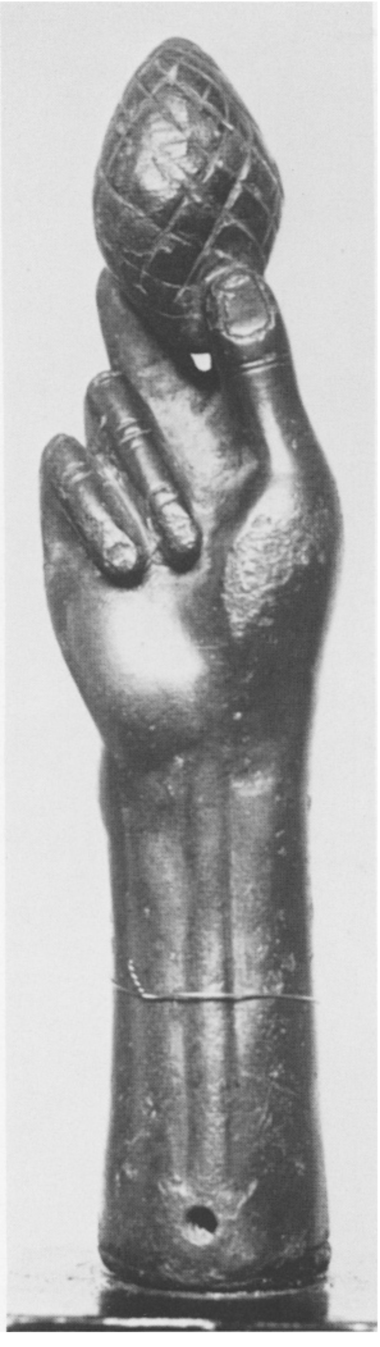

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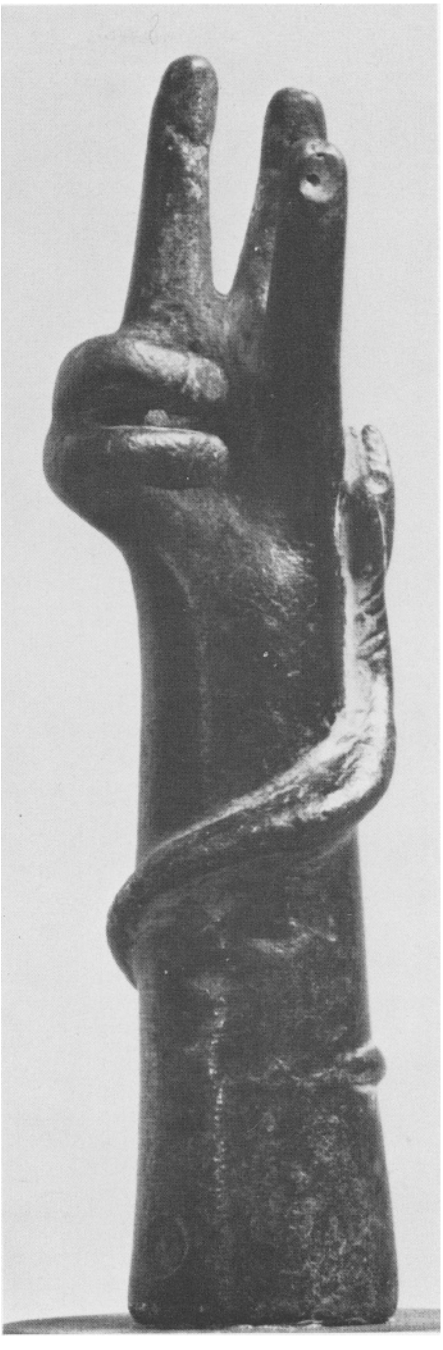

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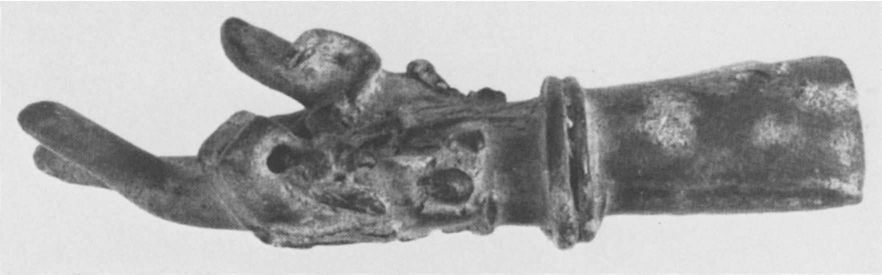
PLATE LVI



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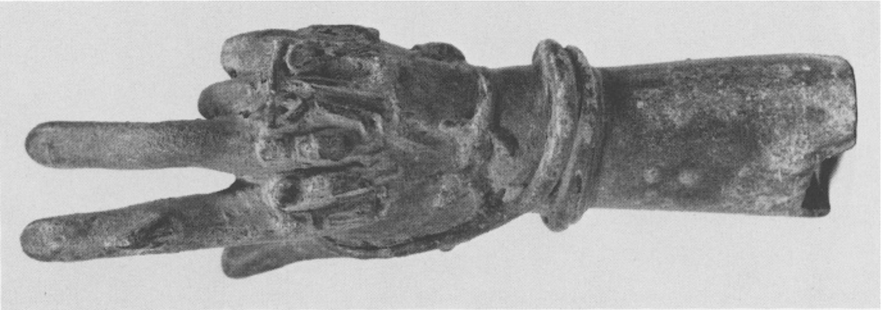

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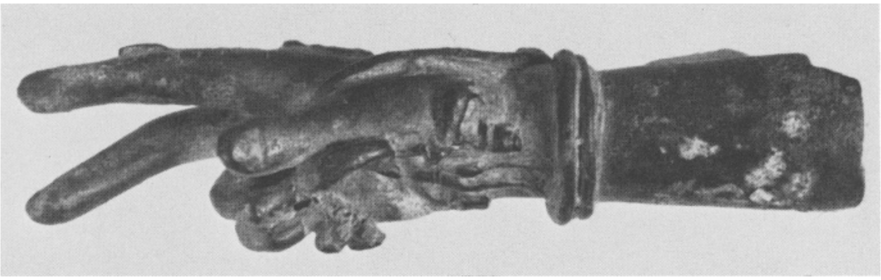

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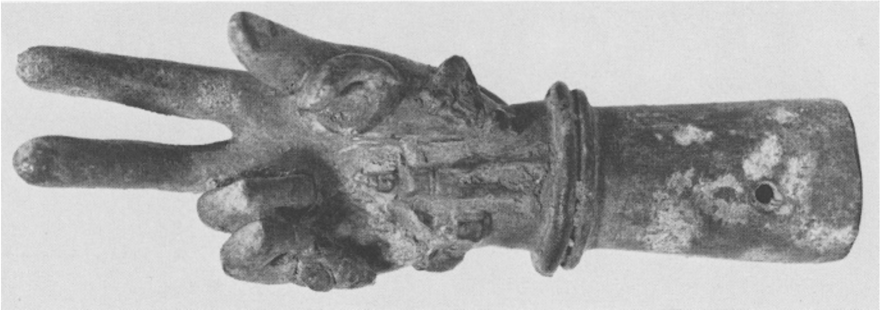

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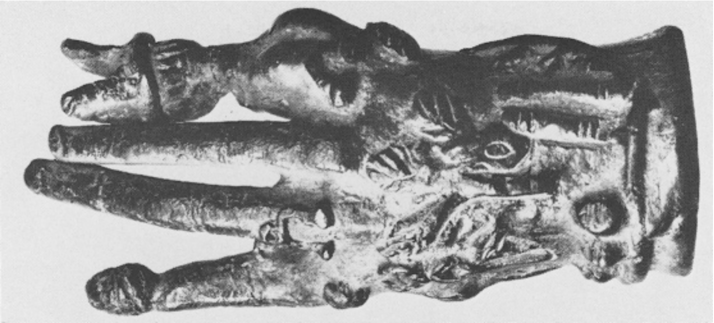

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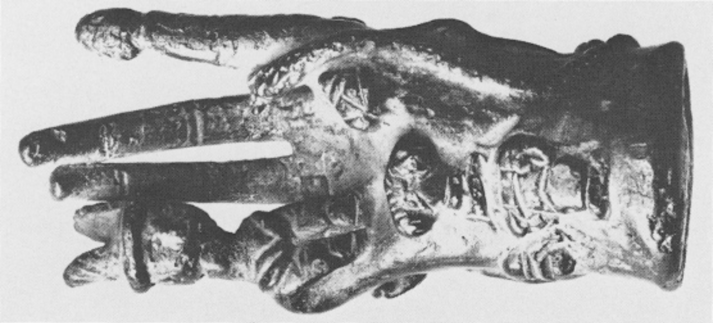

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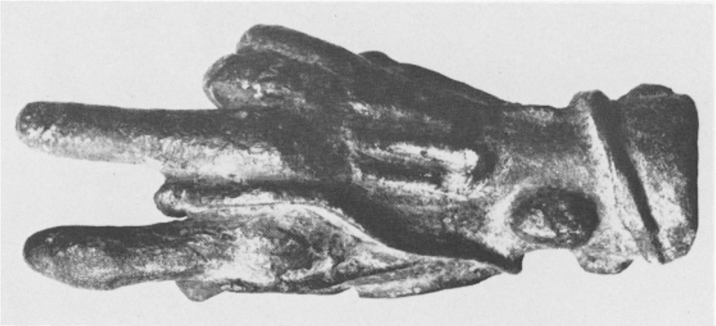

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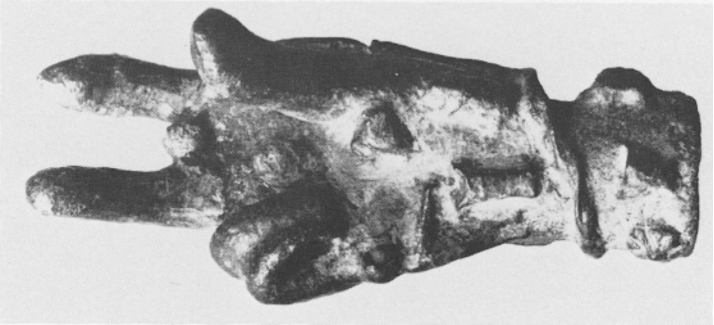

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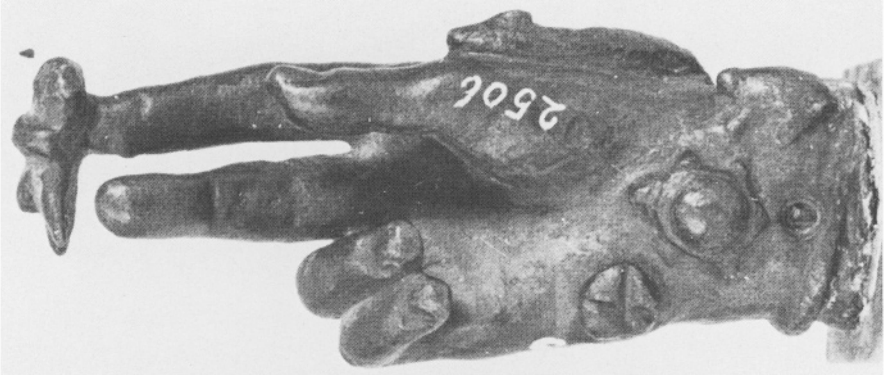

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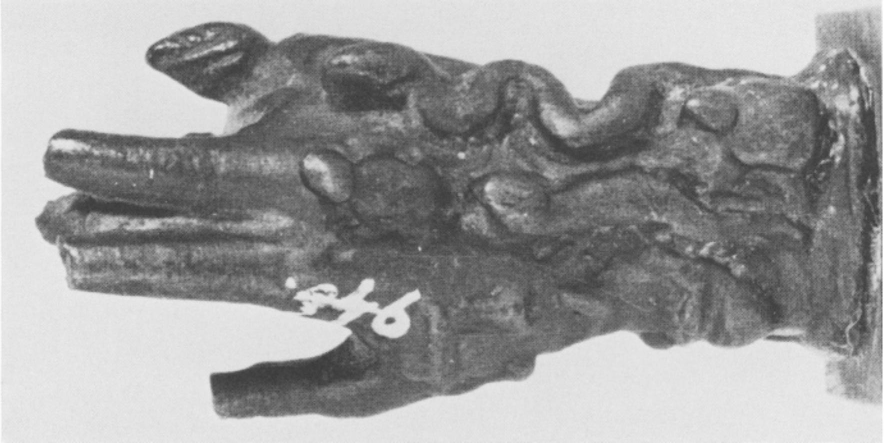

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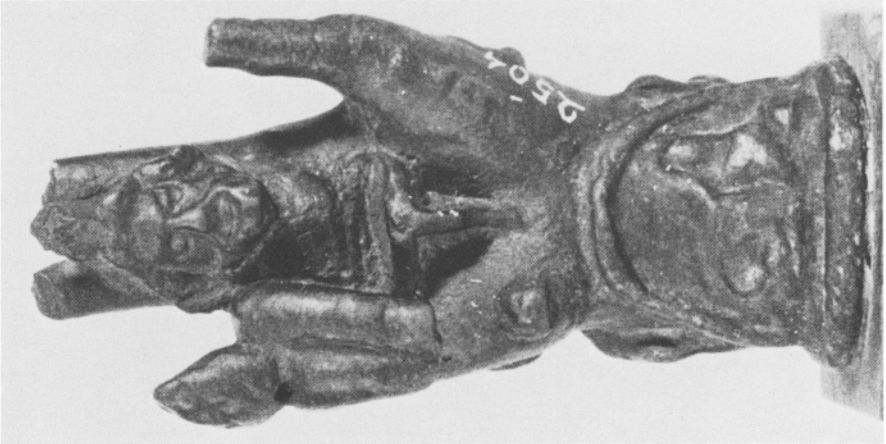

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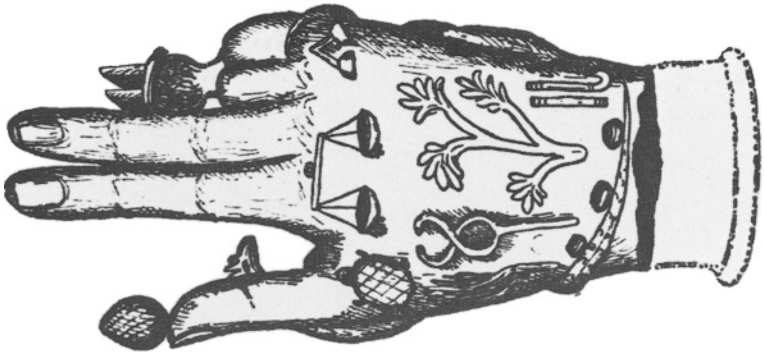

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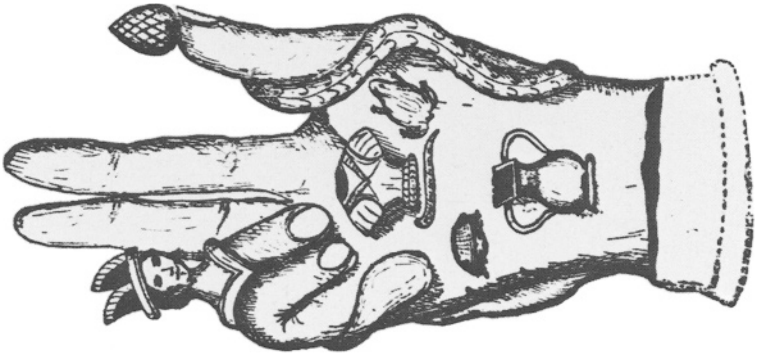

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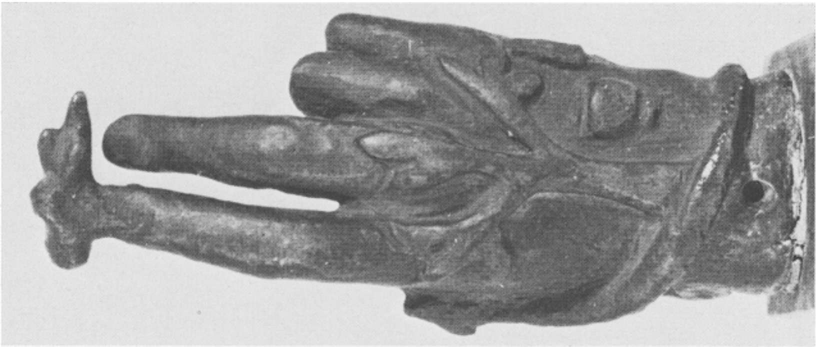

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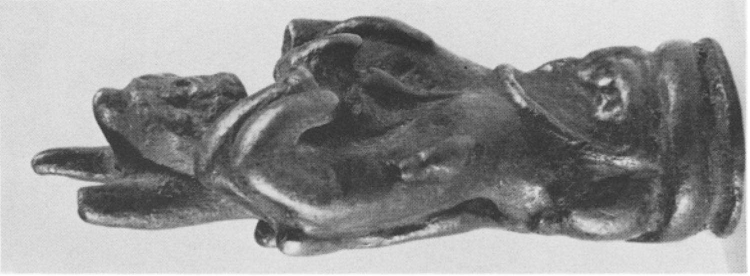

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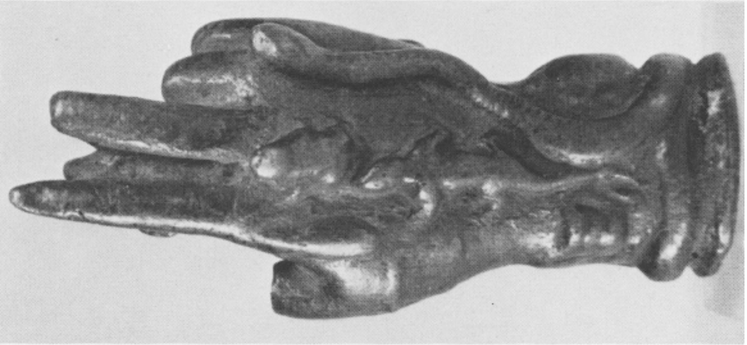

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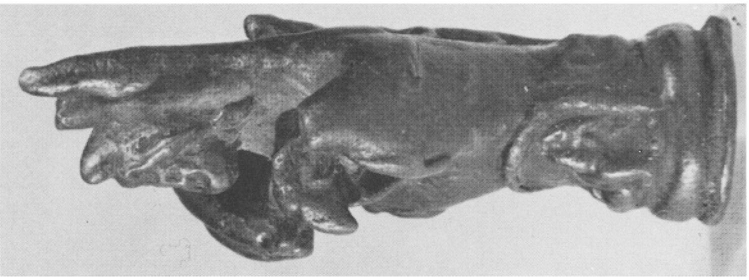

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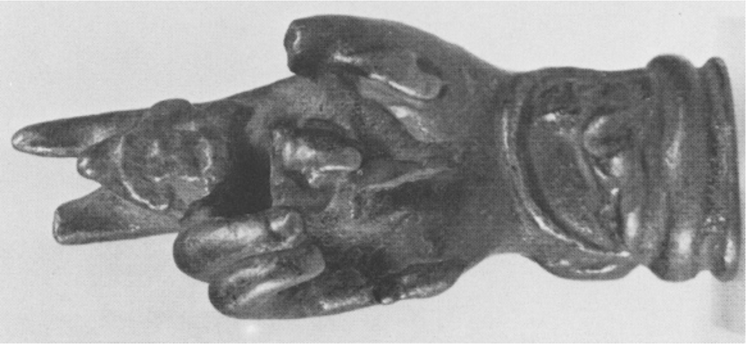

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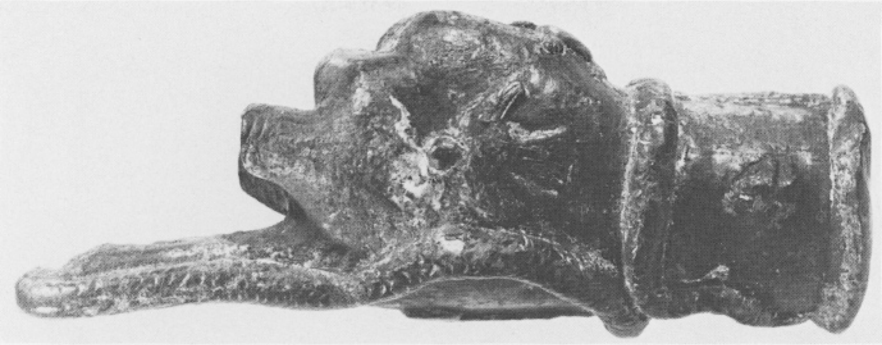

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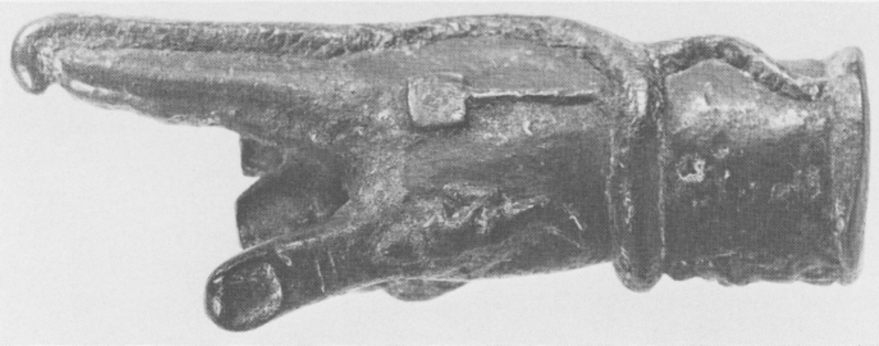

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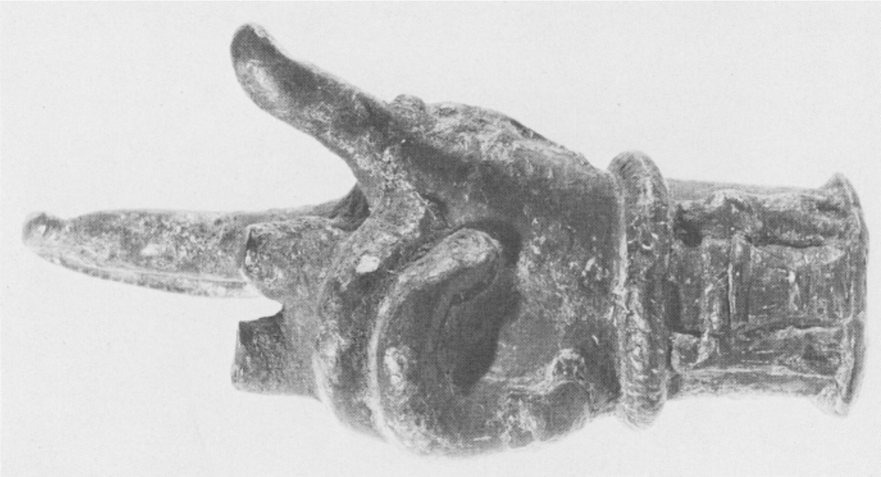

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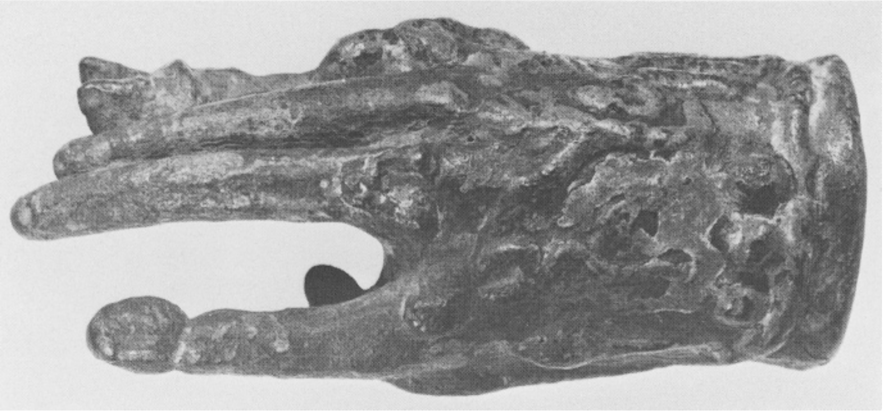

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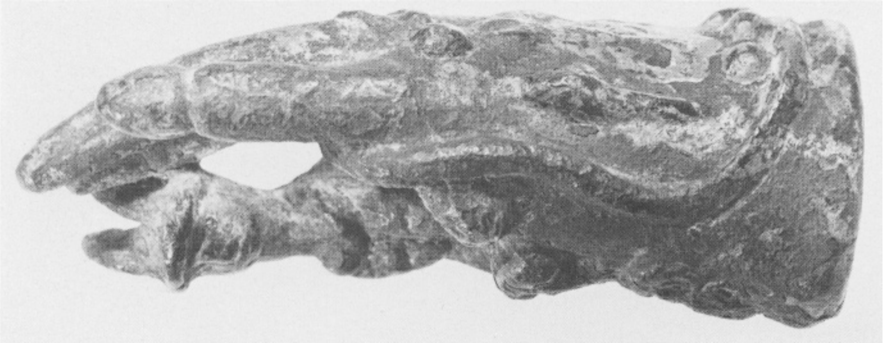

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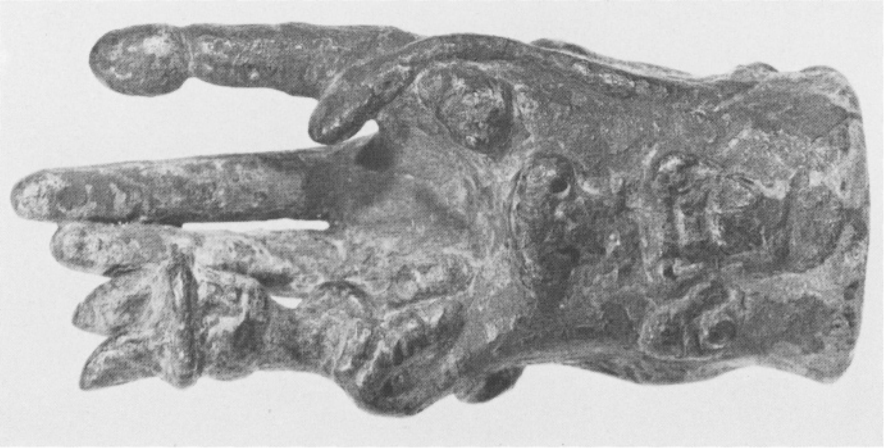

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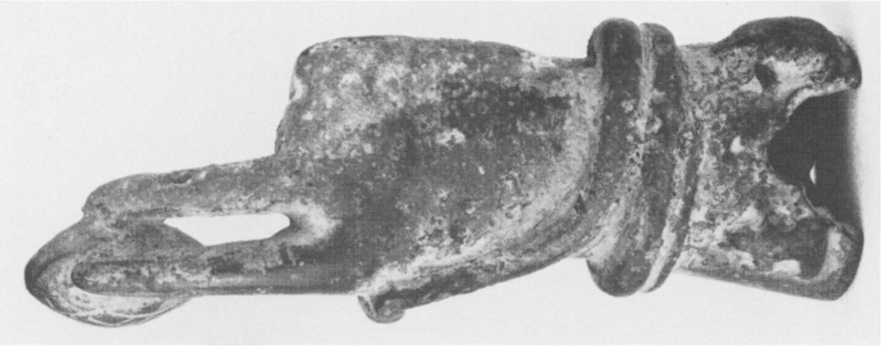
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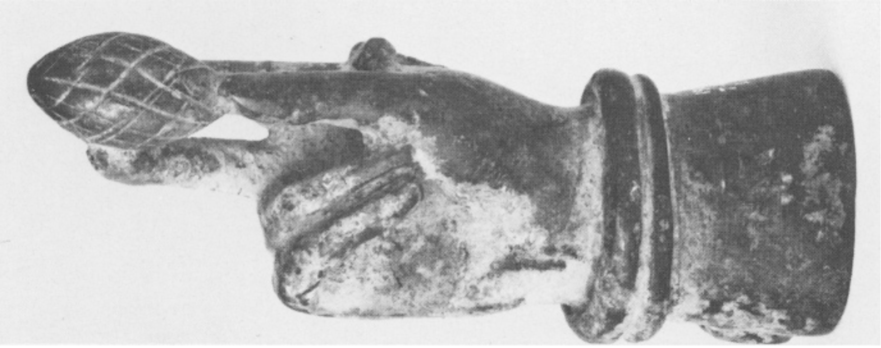
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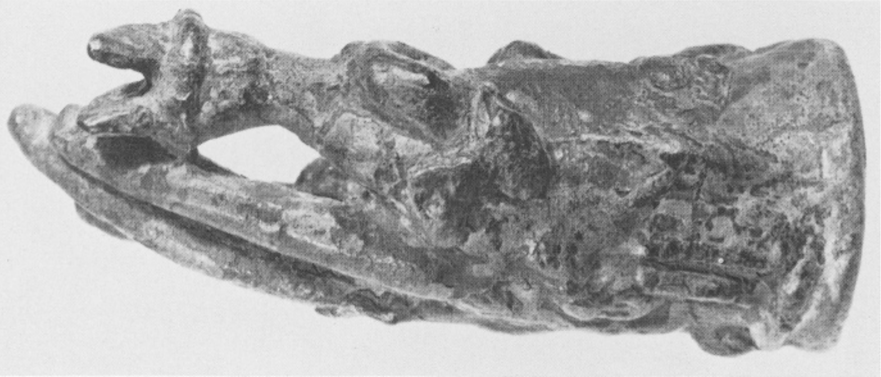
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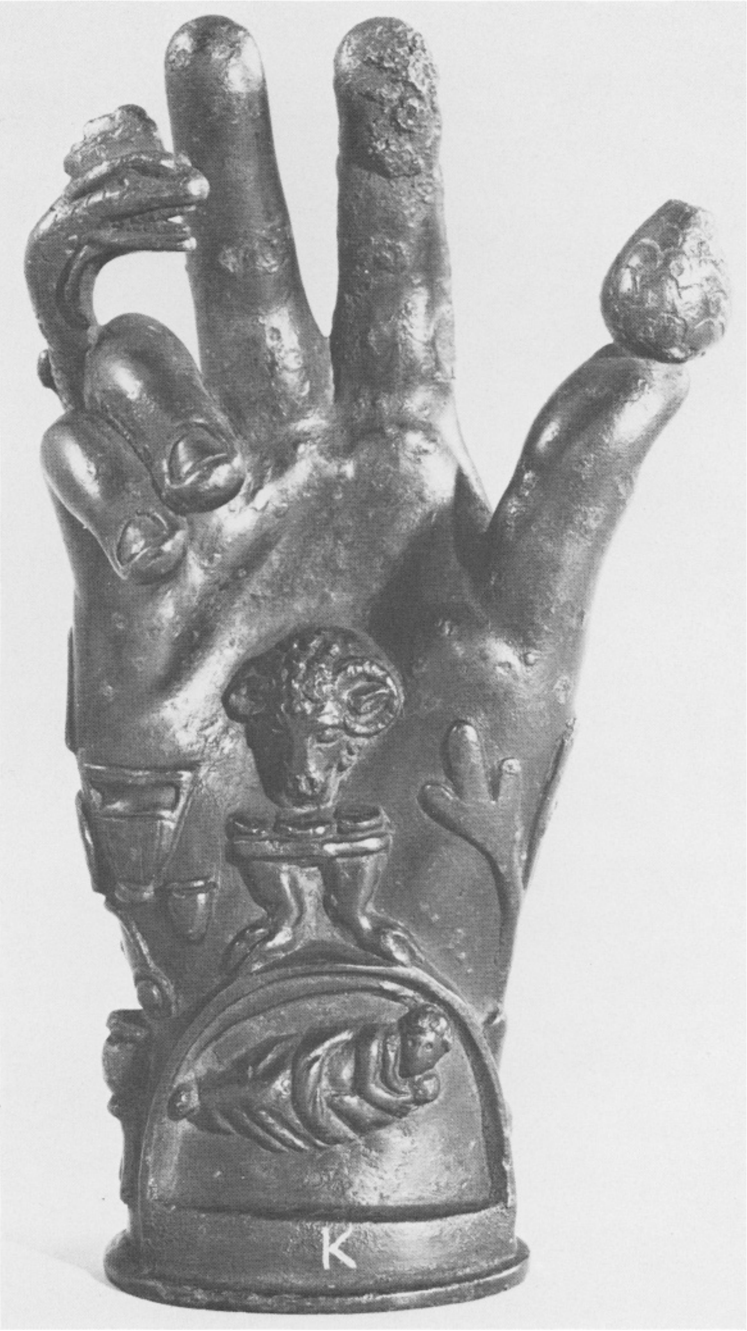

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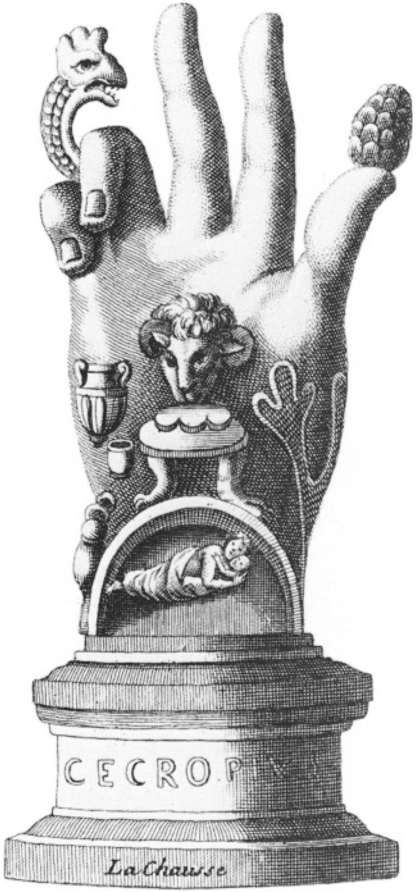
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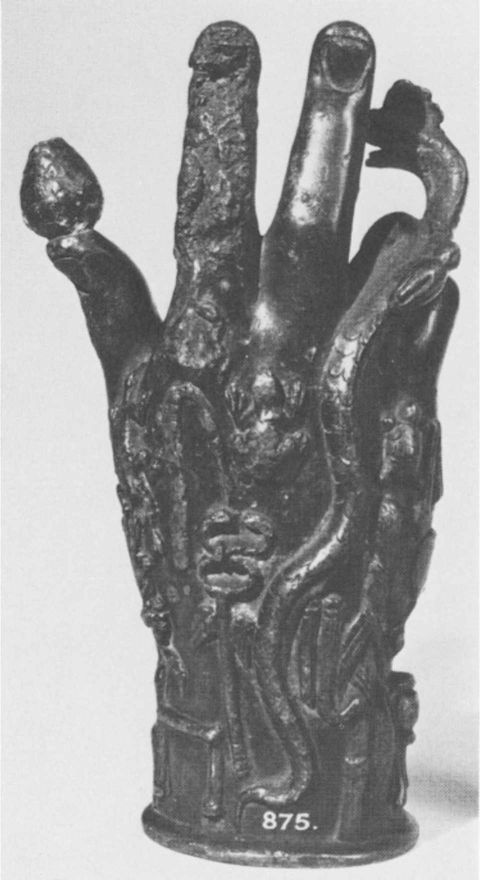

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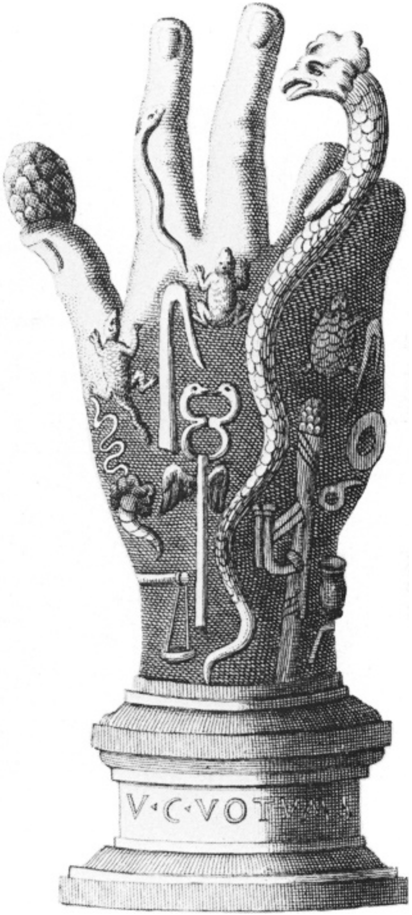

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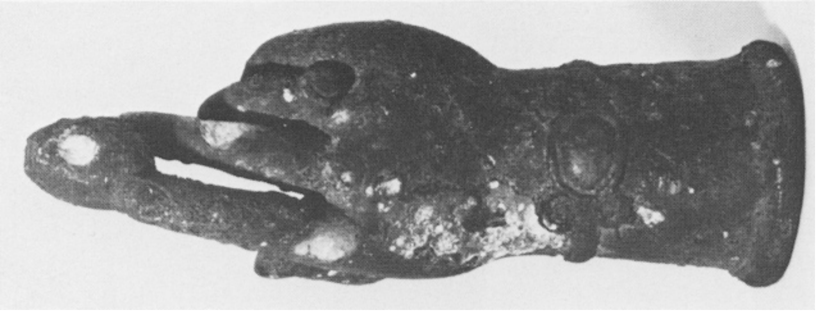
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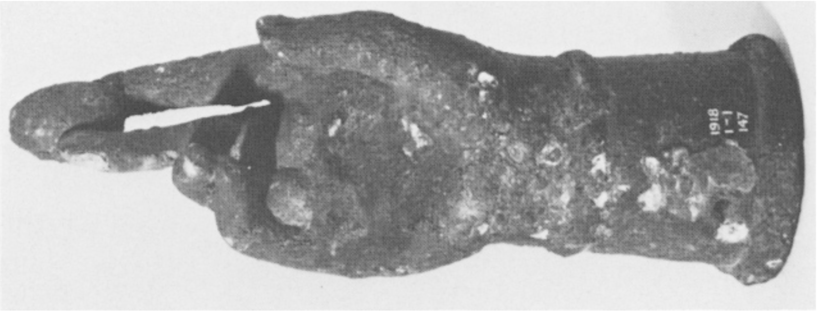

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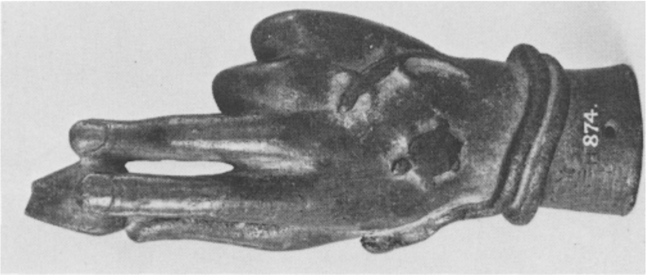

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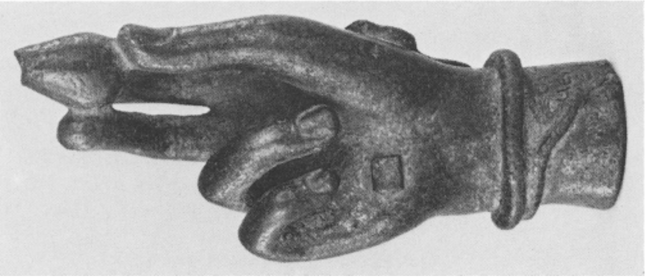
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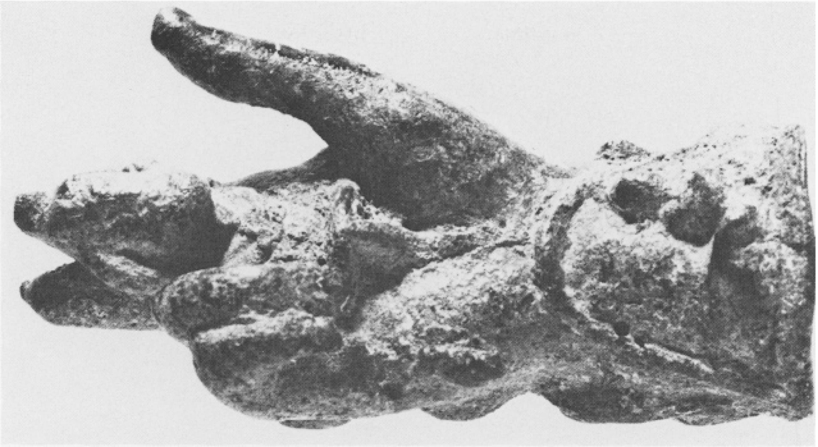

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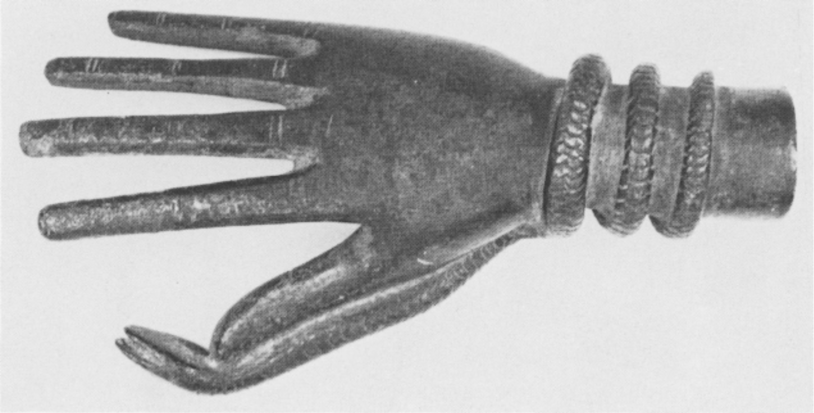

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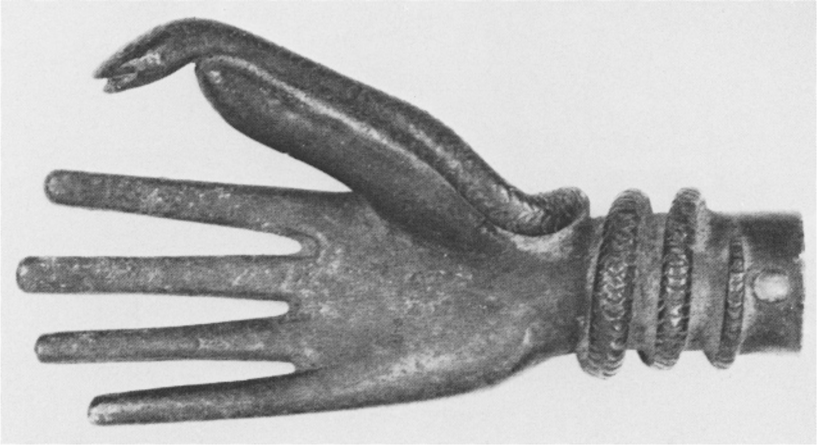

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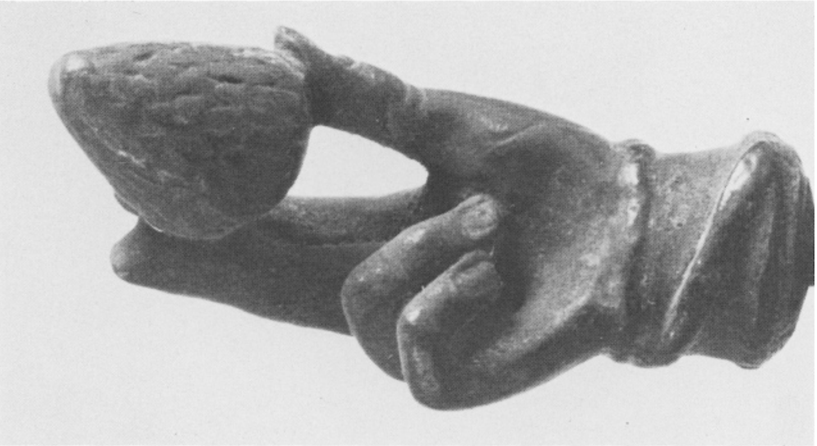

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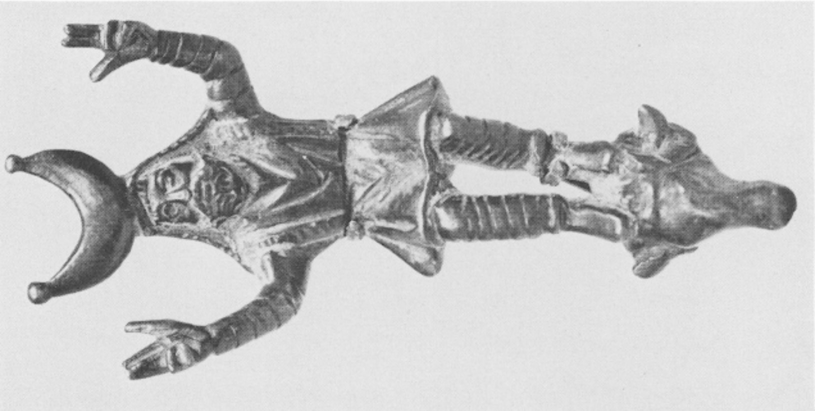

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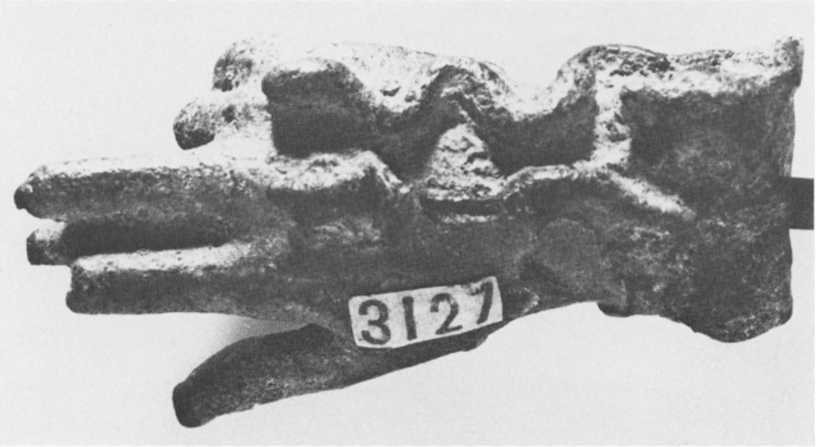

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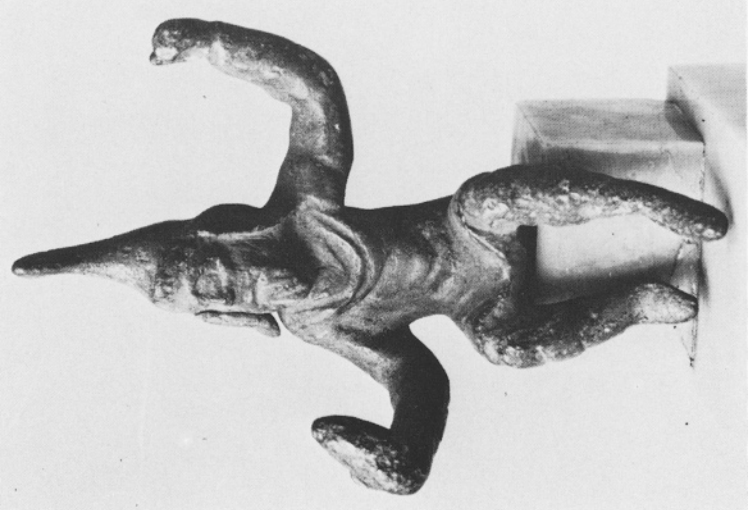

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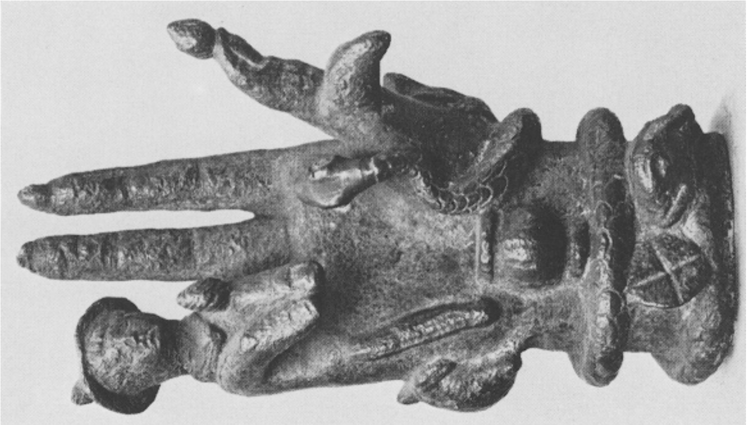

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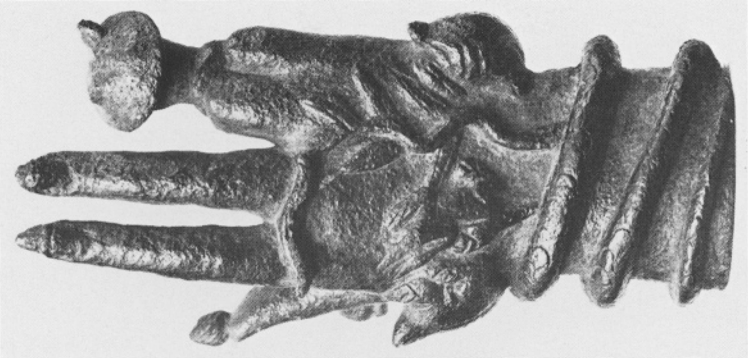

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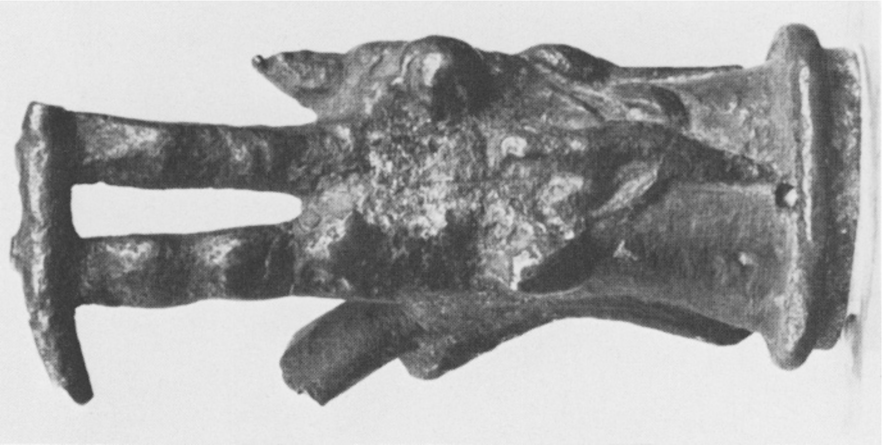

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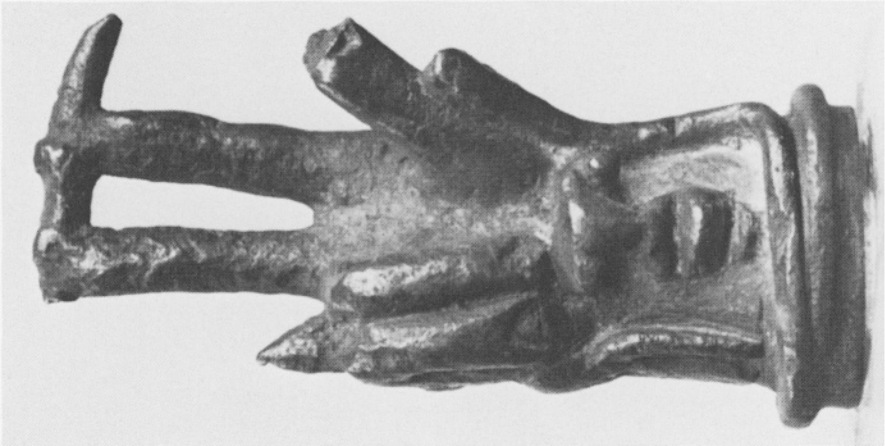

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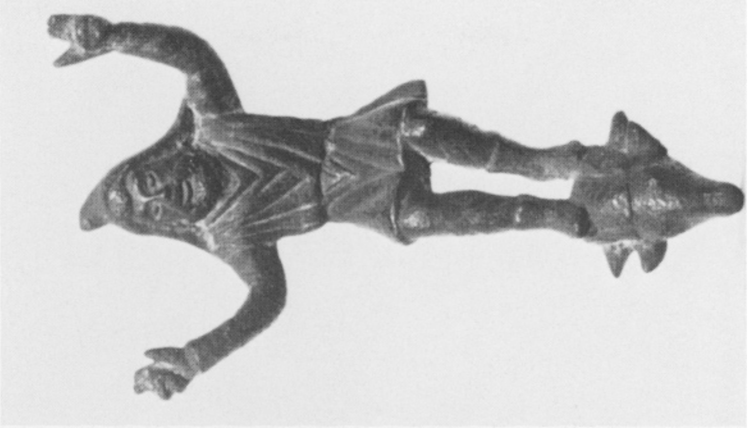

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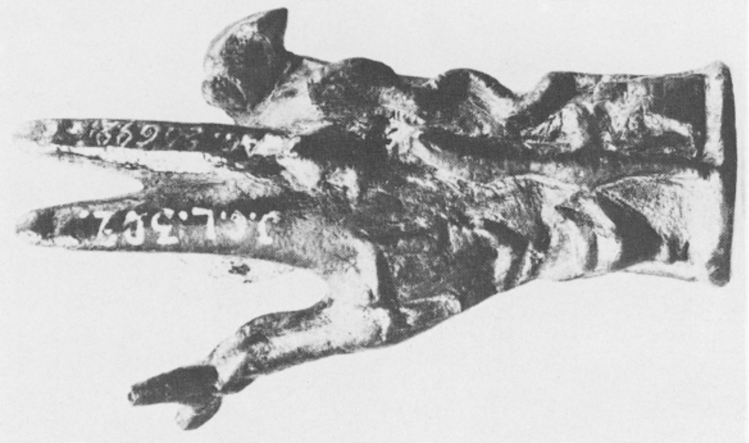

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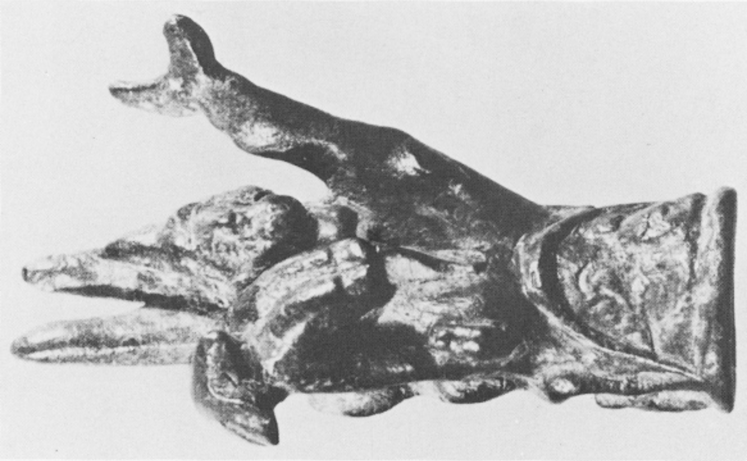

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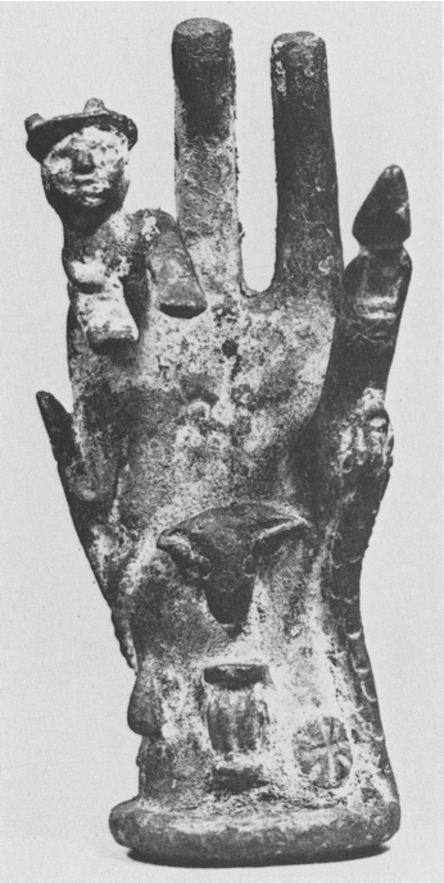

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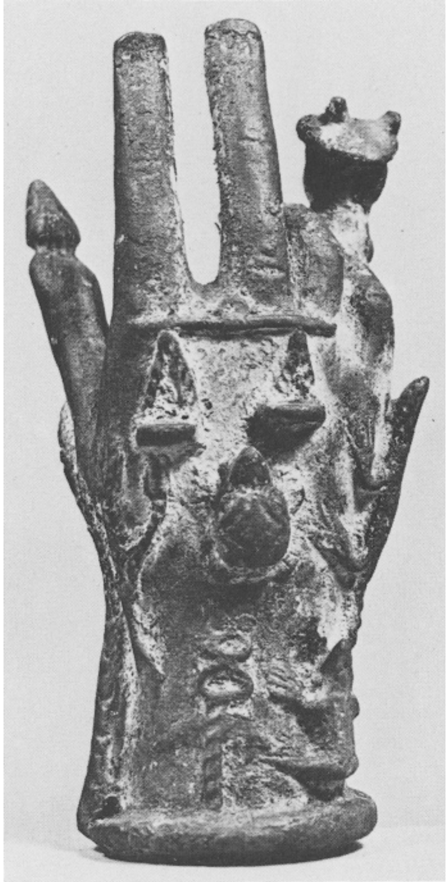

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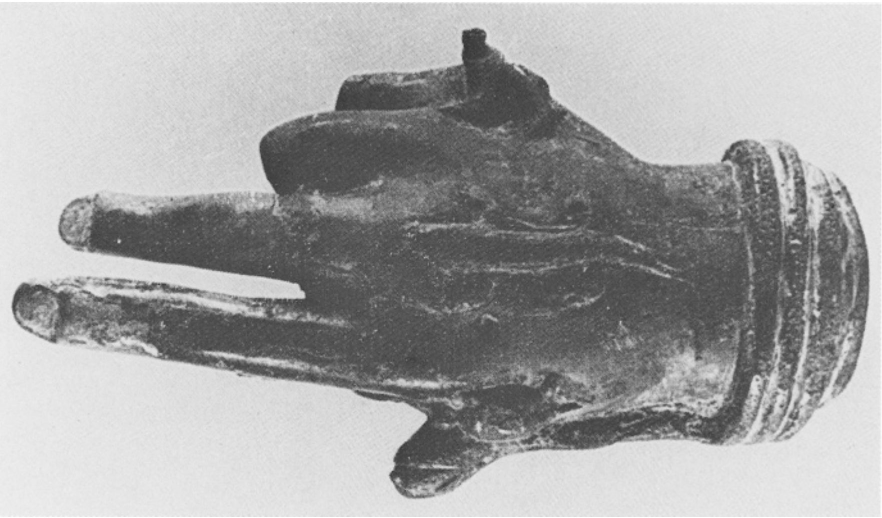

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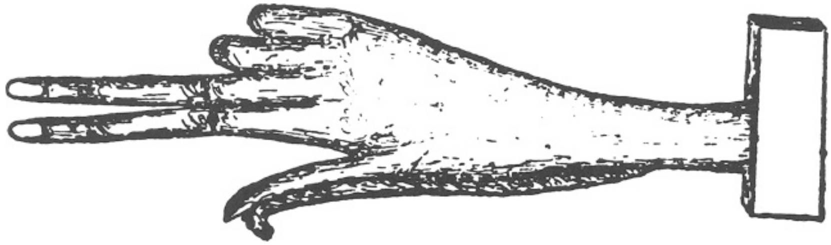

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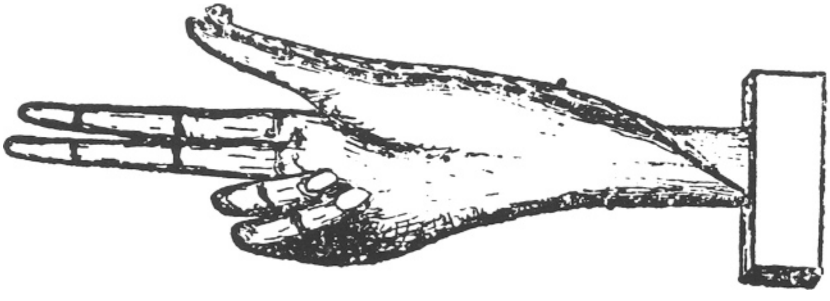

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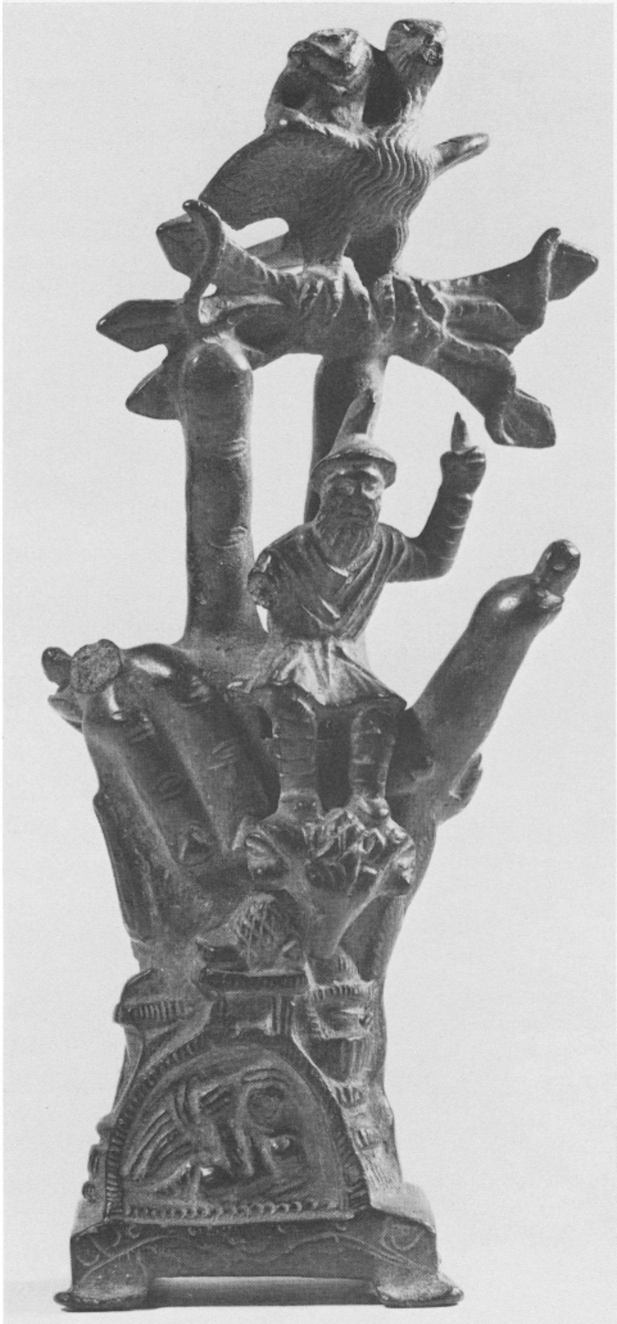

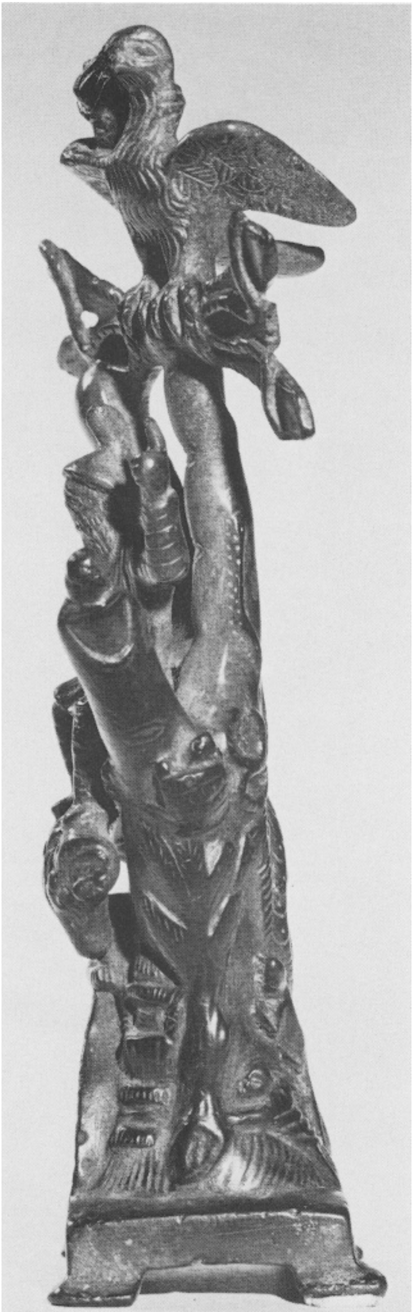

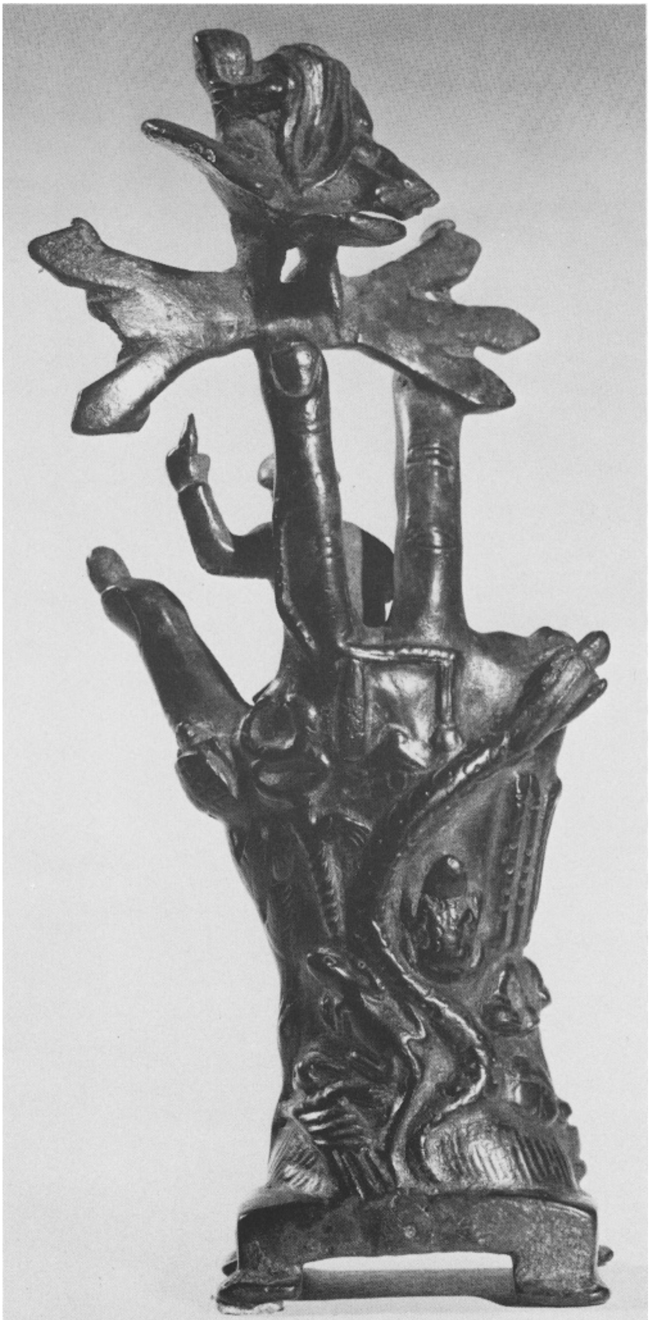

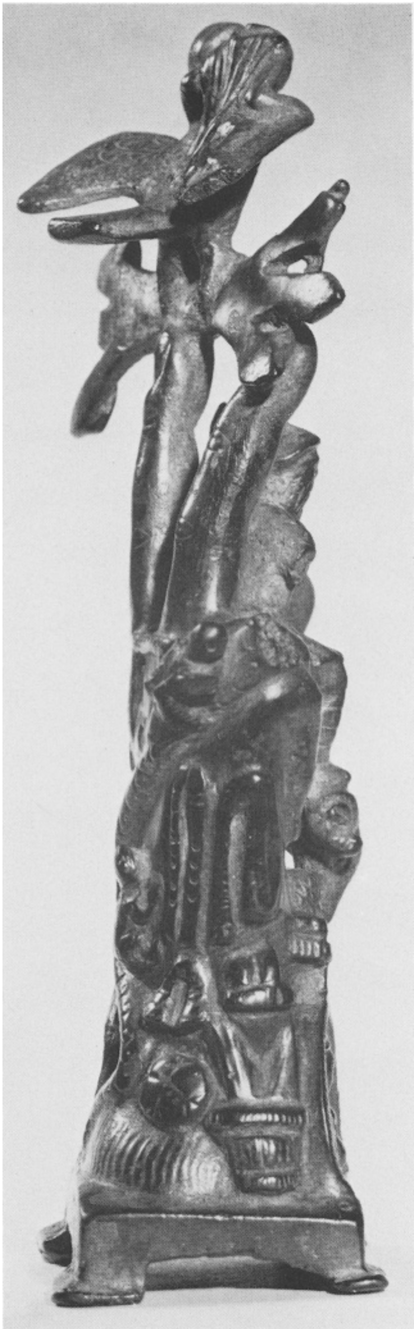

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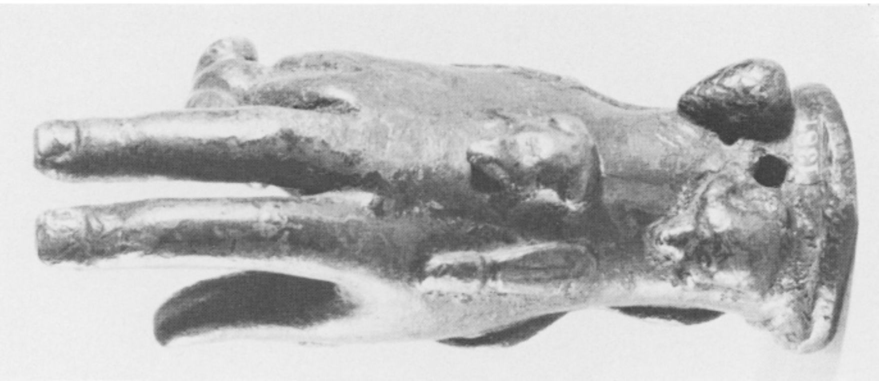
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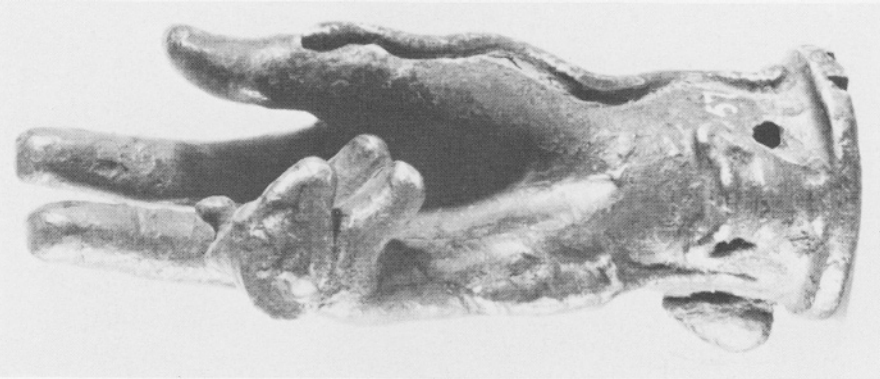
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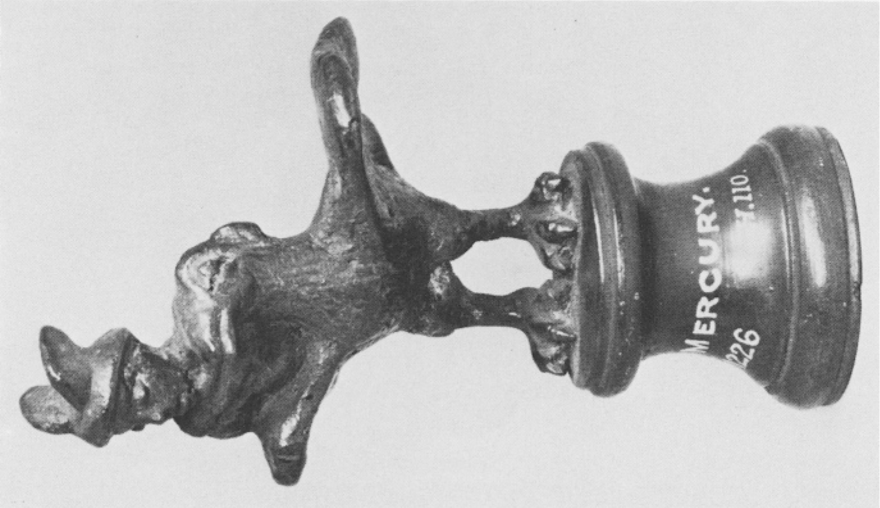
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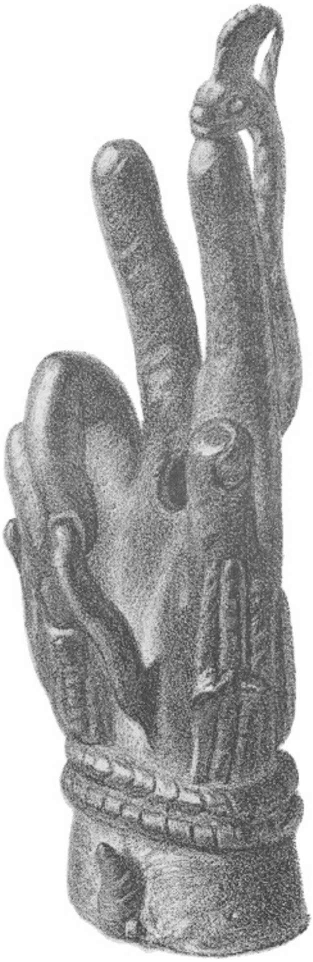

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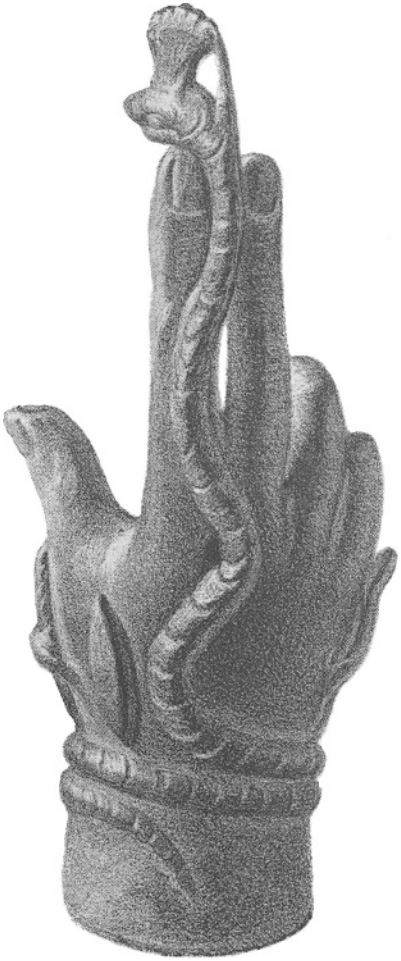

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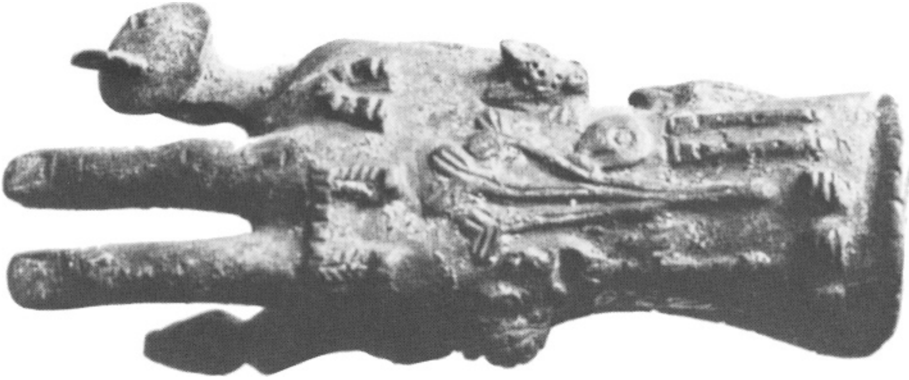

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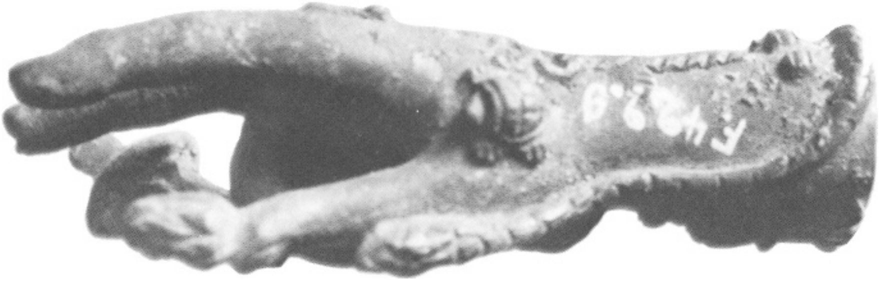

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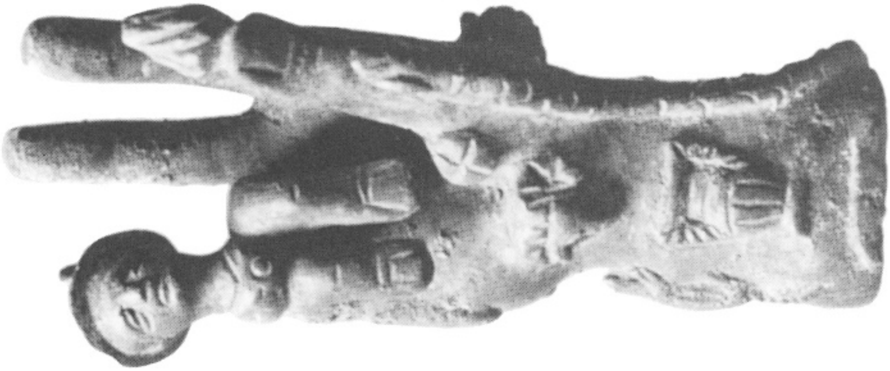

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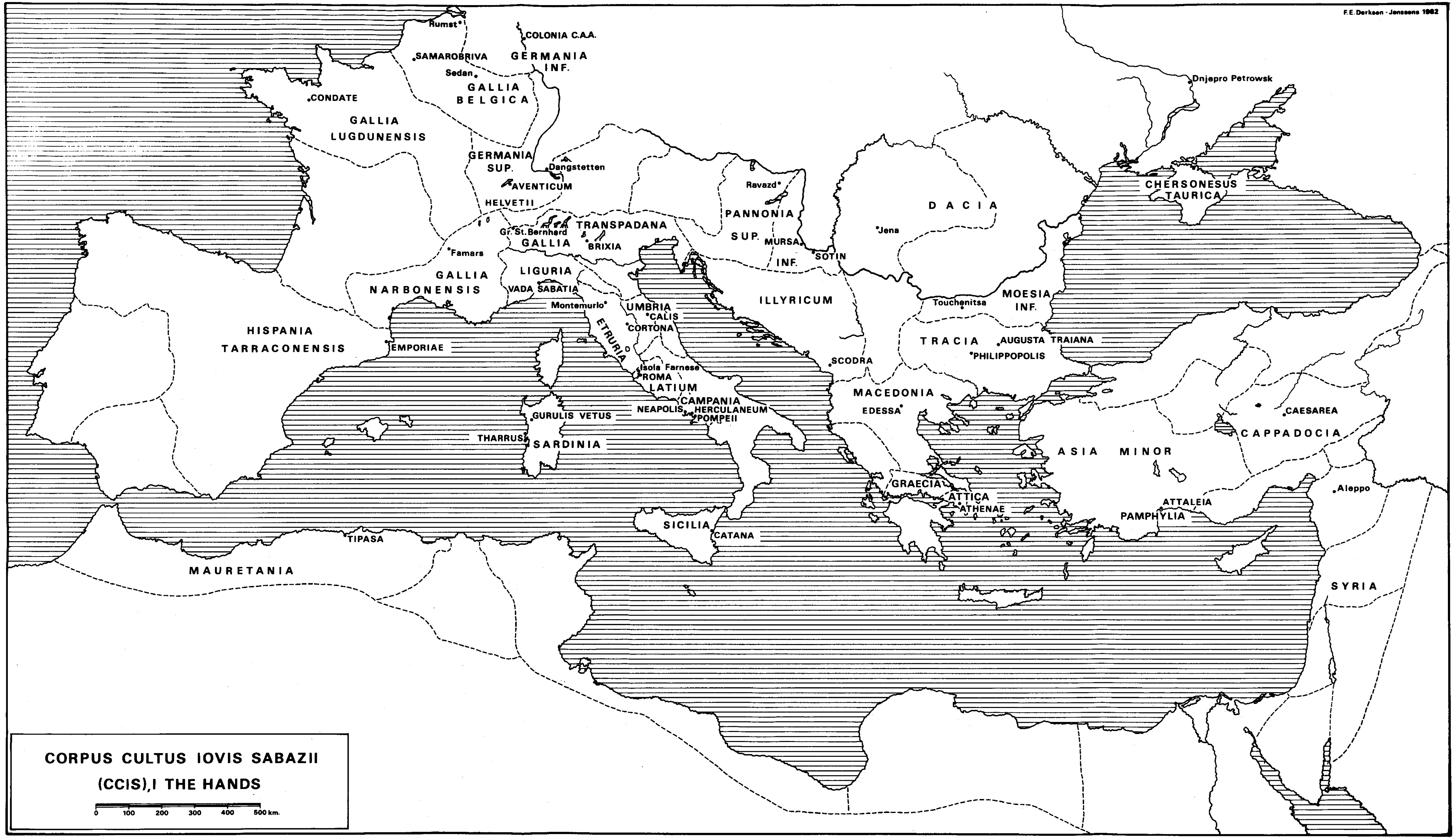

CORPUS CULTUS IOVIS SABAZII

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GERMANIA INF.
Sedan
GALLIA BELGICA
CONDATE
GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS
GERMANIA SUP.
Dangstetten
AVENTICUM
HELVETII
Ravazd
PANNONIA SUP.
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INF.
SOTIN
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Jena
Dnjepro Petrowsk
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Gr. St. Bernhard
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Famars
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VADA SABATIA
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UMBRIA
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CORTONA
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Publiées par M. J. Vermaseren

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2. **Kádár, Z.** Die kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn. 1962. (iv, 86 p., frontisp., 8 pl., 1 fold. map) [02989 3] Gld. 24.—

3. **Squarciapino, M. F.** I culti orientali ad Ostia. 1962. (vii, 72 p., frontisp., 2 fig., 16 pl.) [00552 8] Gld. 24.—

4. **Toynbee, J. M. C.** A silver casket and strainer from the Walbrook Mithraeum in the City of London. 1963. (iv, 15 p., frontisp., 15 pl.) [00553 6] Gld. 20.—

5. **García y Bellido, A.** Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine. 1967. (xiv, 166 p., frontisp., 19 fig., 20 pl.) [00554 4] Gld. 84.—

6. **Harris, E.** and **J. R. Harris.** The oriental cults in Roman Britain. 1965. (xii, 120 p., frontisp., 6 fig., 20 plates, 1 fold. plan) *reprint under consideration*

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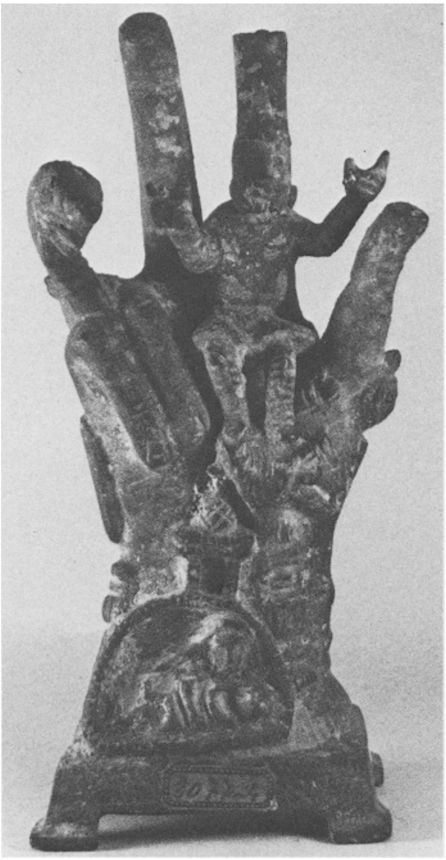

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